

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ACADEMY

FOR

JEWISH RESEARCH

VOL. IV

1932—1933

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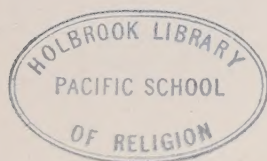


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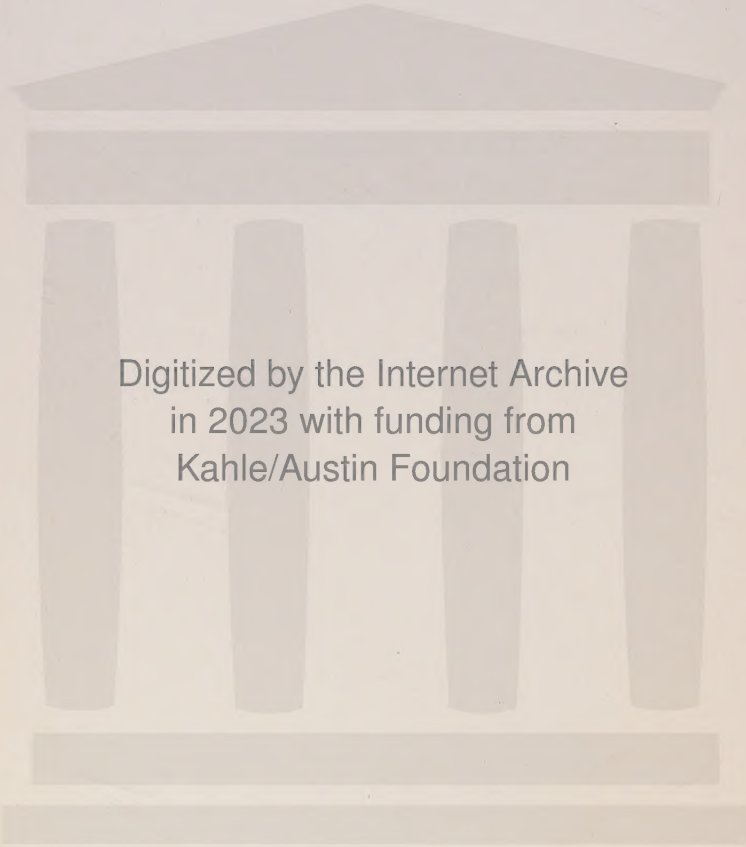
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To

CYRUS ADLER

on his seventieth birthday

September 13, 1933.



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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The American Academy for Jewish Research was organized on June 15, 1920. Its purposes are:

1. The furtherance of Jewish learning through periodical meetings at which learned papers shall be presented and discussed.
2. The formulation and carrying into effect of scholarly undertakings of a cooperative character.
3. The issuance of publications.
4. The promotion of relations of fellowship and cooperation between scholars and learned organizations in America and those in other countries.
5. Furnishing opinions upon scholarly projects submitted to the Academy.
6. And through such other means as may, from time to time, be determined by the Academy.

The Academy was incorporated under the laws of Maryland, on December 20, 1929. The present officers are: President—Professor Alexander Marx; Vice-President—Professor Israel Davidson; Recording Secretary—Dr. Leo Jung; Corresponding Secretary—Professor Salo Baron; Treasurer—Professor Jacob Z. Lauterbach.

The Executive Committee comprises in addition to the officers: Dr. H. G. Enelow, New York City; Professor Louis Ginzberg, New York City; Professor Isaac Husik, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. G. A. Kohut, New York City; President Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, Ohio; Professor Solomon L. Skoss, Philadelphia, Pa.; Professor Harry A. Wolfson, Cambridge, Mass.; Professor Solomon Zeitlin, Philadelphia, Pa.

The membership of the Academy is made up as follows:

- a. Fellows, scholars who are active in the field of Jewish learning.
- b. Patrons, persons interested in Jewish learning, who give not less than one hundred dollars a year to the Academy.

- c. Contributing Members, persons interested in Jewish learning, who give not less than twenty-five dollars a year to the Academy.
- d. Members, persons actively or sympathetically interested in Jewish learning who pay dues of five dollars a year.

A public meeting was held on December 28, 1932, at which the following papers were presented:

1. *The Midrash of Thirty-two Rules of Interpretation* by Doctor H. G. Enelow. (Has appeared in the meantime in JQR XXIII p. 357-67.)
2. *Hebrew Numerals* by Doctor Solomon Gandz.
3. *The Legal Status of Byzantine Jewry* by Joshua Starr.

Special meetings of the Fellows of the Academy were held on February 21, May 24, and June 14, 1933, at which Professor Israel Davidson presented a paper on *Proverbs and Aphorisms in Hebrew Literature* and Professor Alexander Marx described a newly acquired collection of Hebrew manuscripts of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Both papers are included in the present volume. The other fellows reported informally on the progress of their research studies.

In view of the catastrophic situation of German Jewry the Executive Committee in its session of June 14, 1933, decided to take the initiative in establishing temporary fellowships in America in order to provide working facilities for a few German Jewish scholars of distinction. An appeal has been sent out to Jews holding academic and rabbinical positions in the country. This action is now well under way.

THE JEWS AND THE SYRIAN MASSACRES OF 1860

SALO BARON

Twenty years after the Damascus blood accusation of 1840 which aroused diplomatic protests from many European powers and the United States, another outbreak against the Jews occurred in that ancient city. The chief opponents of the Jews were again the Greek Christians, whose religious fanaticism was enhanced by economic jealousy. But this time the recriminations had a local and individual rather than general religious character.¹

The occasion was furnished by one of the largest of the recurrent Syrian massacres. The country, long torn by inner dissensions, witnessed, in May and June 1860, a bloody attack of the Druzes upon the Maronites, their Christian neighbors in the Lebanon. As a sequel, the Mohammedan population of Damascus, at first with little help from the Druzes, suddenly attacked the principal Christian quarter. In the ensuing murder and plundering which lasted for fully five days (9-13 of July) the entire quarter was devastated and thousands of Christians were killed. Thousands of others fled the city and joined those Maronite refugees who for months had been roaming in the deserted regions of the Lebanon.²

¹ In the following notes the most frequently quoted contemporary newspapers and periodicals are abbreviated as follows: AI=Archives Israélites, Paris; AZdJ=Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, Berlin; EI=Educatore Israelita, Vercelli; JChr=Jewish Chronicle, London; MGWJ=Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums, Leipsic; UI=Univers Israelite, Paris.

² The fullest description of the massacres in Damascus is to be found in B. Poujoulat, *La vérité sur la Syrie et l'expédition française*, Paris 1861, p. 388-405 and in *The Lebanon in Turmoil* . . . Book of the Marvels by Iskander Ibn Yakub Abkarius, transl. and annotated by J. F. Scheltema, New Haven 1920, p. 26-43. Poujoulat, although previously a resident of Syria for 25 years, arrived on the scene a few weeks after the events (cf. p. XXI ff), while Abkarius, a Christian Armenian, if not actually in Damascus,

The news of these outrages, arriving in Europe in June and July 1860, provoked widespread indignation. International diplomacy, however, touched in one of its most delicate points, the perennial Eastern question, degraded the whole affair into a play of egotistic political interests. This time France, which had been for centuries the protector of the Maronites, could easily gain the upper hand over England, the friend of the Druzes. The conference of the five powers, France, England, Russia, Austria and Prussia, which was assembled in Paris, decided on August 3, to dispatch 6000 French soldiers to Syria immediately. These troops commanded by General Beaufort d'Hautpoul, arrived in Beirut on August 16. The Turkish government, however, anticipating trouble, had long before (July 17) sent its own Foreign Minister, Fuad Pasha, as commissioner extraordinary vested with "unlimited powers"³ to Damascus to institute investigations on the spot and severely punish the guilty. Fuad, one of the ablest administrators in the country, who had previously engaged in the cruel "pacification" of the Danubian principalities, Thessaly and Epirus, proceeded in the speediest manner possible and court-martialed several hundred Muslims in a short time. On one day (Aug. 20) 111 accused were shot and 56 hung in the streets of Damascus. The governor general of the district, Ahmed-Pasha, was later likewise executed. The European commission, consisting of the

was in Beirut during the disturbances (p. 5f). Abkarius is also more impartial than Poujoulat and most contemporary writers on the subject. The number of the Christian victims, in the first rush estimated by European consular officers as high as 11-12000, probably amounted to 5000 out of the 24000 Christian inhabitants of the city. Cf. Abkarius p. 136, the despatch from Beirut to the London Daily News, dated August 22, quoted by the "Occident" Philadelphia, October 11, and Correspondence relating to the disturbances in Syria p. 83. Cf. also H. Lammens, *La Syrie II* (1921), p. 186.

³ Lammens *ibid.*, p. 184. Goltz (see Appendix) says: "Mit denjenigen Befugnissen ausgestattet, deren Ausuebung sonst nur dem Souverain selbst zusteht." As to the mission of Fuad Pasha and his proceedings cf. in particular Abkarius l.c. p. 143-158. Fuad is supposed to have declared to the French consul Outrey in Constantinople: "tell the French ambassador that at the peril of my life I shall wipe out the stain which rests upon the honor of the army . . ." Cf. J. L. Farley, *The Massacres in Syria*, London, 1861, p. 96 and M. Jouplain, *La question du Liban*, Paris 1908, p. 415, n. 1.

representatives of the five powers which, with the consent of the Sultan, was to take part in the investigation, reached Beirut on September 26. It was easily outmanœuvred by its own chairman, Fuad, and withdrew altogether on May 4, 1861. The French expeditionary force was likewise recalled, after an agreement had been reached between the Porte and the five powers concerning the Turkish administration of Syria (signed June 9, 1861).⁴

I

The Jews of Damascus were not at first directly involved in these massacres.^{4a} The hatred of the Muslim population was then concentrated on the Christians. Although the Jewish quarter was in close proximity to the Christian, the Jews as such were not assaulted. However, the fire, which destroyed practically all Christian houses, caused considerable damage in the rest of the city, too, and 850 Mohammedan and Jewish houses are said to have been burned.⁵

The Jewish community suffered along with the others as a result of the break-down of the economic life in the city. The Jews had quickly recuperated from the disturbances of 1840 and regained a certain degree of prosperity. They lived a fully Jewish life in their own quarter. There is obviously no contradiction in the statement of a native Arab observer that they, ignorant like the Christians, possessed no knowledge whatever outside of the Talmud⁶ and in that of a Jewish visitor who,

⁴ Cf. Th. C. Holland, *The European Concert in the Eastern Question*, Oxford 1885, p. 209–11.

^{4a} The Jews of the Lebanon, however, were severely hit. Settlements, which had persisted for over three centuries, were now totally uprooted. Cf. J. Ben-Zewi in *Zion* II (1927) 76–9 and IV (1930) 142–8; idem, *The Jews among the Druses of the Lebanon* (Herew) in *Tarbiz* III (1932) 436–51.

⁵ From a letter to the London "Times" dated Damascus July 17, and quoted by JChr August 17.

⁶ "Unter den Christen und Juden befindet sich gar nichts von Wissenschaft und beide sind beinahe im Naturzustande, nur dass die Juden den Talmud, aber auch nur diesen studieren," writes in 1848 Michael Meshâkâ in his article: *Kulturstatistik von Damaskus*, transl. from Arabic by Prof. Fleischer and

living in Damascus soon after the massacres, spoke with high praise of the great learning and piety of the Damascus Jews.⁷ Their number now rose to 6000 at least.⁸ Their relations with the Christian, and in particular with the Greek population, were still anything but friendly. A few months before the massacres a new blood accusation was circulated by the Greeks, which threatened to become a source of grave tribulations. The leaders of the Jewish community, in order to forestall further complications, approached James Brant, the British Consul in Damascus, with the request for protection. They reminded him that, two decades before, Great Britain had obtained from the Porte the right to interfere in favor of the native Jews, if they were wronged by the local Turkish authorities. Brant, however, whom one of his colleagues at that time characterized as "an old man whom nothing concerned", refused, stating that "his recent instructions prevent him from intervening in any matter not immediately concerning British subjects." The heads of the community, Aron Jacob and Jacob Peretz, then wrote to Sir Moses Montefiore in London, on May 9, 1860, appealing through him to the Board of Deputies to solicit the intervention of the British government in their behalf. The Board considered this request in its meeting of July 16. But in the meantime the tragic events in the Lebanon

published in ZDMG VIII, 1854, p. 345ff. Mr. Meshâkâ, a native of Damascus, served as American Vice-Consul in that city during the riots, and was wounded. Cf. Abkarius l.c. p. 132, n. 196.

⁷ Cf. the correspondence of Isaac Rosenthal from Prussia, a resident of Jerusalem (1st of Kislev = Nov. 15, 1860) to the Hebrew ha-Karmel (I, 212) about the situation in Damascus, where he had lived for six months in the house of Salomon ben Joseph Farhi.

⁸ A German traveller H. (J. H.) Petermann, who visited Damascus in 1852 relates in his *Reisen im Orient*, I, Leipzig 1860, p. 142, that there were in the city 5000-6000 Jews who owned 8 regular synagogues and 4 private places of worship. This contrasted with 28 large mosques and a total of 325 Muslim schools and mosques. Cf. Meshâkâ, p. 373. A. v. Kremer (*Mittelsyrien u. Damascus*, Vienna 1853, p. 248) as well as Benjamin II. (Eight years in Asia and Africa, p. 40f.) estimate a Jewish population of only 4000. Farley's (l.c. p. 82) 20,000 are an obvious exaggeration, as he himself gives the number of all the Jews in Syria as amounting to only 24,000 out of a total population of 1,700,000 (p. 173).

⁹ See Appendix.

had become known in Europe. In view of this "delicate situation" in Syria the Board decided temporarily to refrain from any action.¹⁰

No wonder that, as soon as the massacres were over, some native Greeks accused the Jews of participation in the Muslim riots. On July 18, a few days after order had been restored, the Greek Consul, Spartalis, wrote in his report to the government in Athens that

"all the (Christian) priests, whom the Muslims had massacred, were immediately thrown into the fire by the Jews. These people also abducted and hid many Christian children, in order to sell them as slaves. It is further to be remarked that in the midst of this appalling disorder not a single Jew has been injured."¹¹

Other such impossible rumors were spread and readily believed. One version had it that the Jews participated in the murder "disguised as Druzes, while others took out lemonade to the Moslem assassins and encouraged them in their work of slaughter."¹²

The local Turkish authorities, which soon undertook the investigation, lent a willing ear to these accusations. Soon fifteen Jews were imprisoned.¹³ Among them was a rabbi, Jacob Abulafia, the son of the chief rabbi of Jerusalem. Fifteen other Jews, getting wind that they were sought, fled the city. In the ensuing panic the whole Jewish community felt itself threatened with

¹⁰ JChr July 20.

¹¹ Reprinted in French in Fr. Lénormant, *Une persécution du Christianisme en 1860* (Paris 1860) p. 208. Cf. *ibid.* p. 136 and 139. Spartalis, a native Greek of Damascus shared the prejudices of his correlative in the city. Cf. London "Times" November 17, (JChr. November 23). Curiously misinformed is the report from Jerusalem dated October 18, in *Der Israelit* I, (Mayence 1860), p. 302-3, according to which the Greek consul was, like the Prussian, a fearless defender of the Jews.

¹² From a later report to the London "Times" November 17.

¹³ The names of twelve prisoners are mentioned in MGWJ IX (1860) p. 417 as follows: Jizchak Navi, Eliahu Katalni, Ariel Aschkenazi, Chaim Malki, Joseph Bolknan, Jizchak Antibi, Joseph Selul, Joseph Levi Kuschi, Joseph Manrebi, Jakob Suairizi, Mordecai Hakim, Eliahu Levi Kuschi. In other periodicals they are given with some changes, particularly in the Hebrew family names.

extinction. As in 1840, every individual Jew was under the continuous danger of being suddenly dragged before the Turkish court. On the accusation of any Christian he would be treated as a murderer and robber, kept in prison and perhaps sentenced to death on the least reliable evidence. Often officials and private individuals saw in the threat of accusing a Jew a means of enriching themselves. Fuad Pasha's inquiries brought to light many such instances. For example, once two Christians "went to a Jew's house and demanded 1500 Turkish piastres under the threat of denouncing the owner as a murderer, and 400 Turkish piastres were actually given."¹⁴ The incriminations against the Jews reached a climax in September, during the temporary absence of Fuad Pasha. One of the Jewish defendants, although blind and lame, was accused of murder, and soon thereafter died in prison of anguish and maltreatment. Other Jewish prisoners became seriously ill. Nevertheless, according to the despatch of the Prussian consul¹⁵, on September 23 and 24, two new lists containing the names of numerous Jews to be prosecuted were drawn up by the chief of police.

The news of these accusations soon spread all over Turkey and penetrated into the European press, which was excitedly watching all the Eastern developments. Such serious newspapers as the "Journal de Constantinople," the London "Times," the Paris "Journal des Débats," the "Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung" and the New York "World" carried news-items from their Oriental correspondents which were, at first, rather unfavorable to the Damascene Jews. Many anti-Jewish newspapers, particularly in Russia, re-echoed the denunciation of the Jews with special delight. A widely read French writer, François Lénormant, reproduced the accusations of Spartalis, and added on his own account, that "it is difficult to imagine what the Jews of the Orient are like with their bloody hatred of Christianity and the Christians. Wherever in Turkey the Muslims shed the blood of the servants of Christ, one is sure to see the Jews following them as the jackals follow the lion and waxing rich on their

¹⁴ This information was given by Fuad Pasha himself to Brant, according to the latter's report to the Foreign Office, November 8. Cf. JChr November 21.

¹⁵ See Appendix.

cruelties. . ."¹⁶ Muslim animosity, on the other hand, was stirred at the sight of the Jews who escaped the brunt of both the riots and the ensuing prosecutions. The reverberations of the Damascus events were felt all over Syria. Smyrna, during the Day of Atonement, was filled with rumors of a forthcoming attack of the Greeks upon the Jews. Only the sharp surveillance of the Turkish authorities prevented a minor clash from assuming larger proportions. The governor of Smyrna had special reasons to be on his guard, because, shortly before, he had received a vizirial order of Mehemed Emin Ali in Constantinople to protect the Jews against "humiliating treatment." On the other hand, the anti-Christian fanaticism of the Muslim population threatened to engulf many a Jewish community. According to a contemporary report from Bagdad, on September 2, "Christians and Jews were insulted and menaced in the streets and the Mohammedans, the poorer class at least, threatened and openly spoke of slaying all non-Mohammedans." The anxiety reached its climax in the night of September 3, when "five hundred of the worst characters were gathered near the Jewish quarter ready to do their worst." Again the Turkish governor, by speedy action, succeeded in maintaining order.

In Safed only the energy of the Austrian consular agent saved the Jewish quarter from plunder by the excited mob.¹⁷

II

Under these circumstances nothing remained to the Jews of Damascus but to appeal to the representatives of the European powers in the city as well as to the Jews in Western Europe. When the first news of the Syrian massacres arrived in Europe, the leaders of Western Jewry actively participated in the relief for the Christian victims in Syria. On July 11, long before the general subscriptions were opened, Adolph Crémieux issued an appeal to the Jews of all countries to collect money for Syrian

¹⁶ *l.c.* p. 140f.

¹⁷ Cf. the "Israelite" VII (Cincinnati 1860-61) p. 138, 186 and 198 and the correspondence from Vienna, dated August 22, in UI XVI (1860/1) p. 31.

relief. He himself contributed 500 francs. The leading Jews of France immediately followed suit, Baron Rothschild contributing 16,000 francs and Émile Isaac Péreire, 12,000. The Jewish contributions soon amounted to more than 50,000 francs.¹⁸ The rabbis of France issued pastoral letters, Jewish philanthropic societies organized special committees and the enthusiasm among the French Jews for the Christian sufferers rose very high.¹⁹ This speedy action of the representative Jews in France found full recognition in French public opinion. The "Alliance Chrétienne Universelle" addressed a highly complimentary letter to Crémieux on July 25, and Leon Plée wrote an article in the "Siècle" on July 24, entitled "Prélats et Rabbins," which praised the attitude of the rabbis.²⁰

In England Sir Moses Montefiore was one of the first to appeal, in a letter to the "Times", for such relief measures, simultaneously contributing £200 himself (July 11).²¹ When the British Syrian Relief Fund was organized (August 1), he became the chairman of the Executive Finance Committee, while Baron Rothschild joined the general committee as one of its leading members. The Board of Deputies, the Chief Rabbi Dr. Nathan Adler and the "Jewish Chronicle" issued "pathetic appeals" to their

¹⁸ 50,292 francs, according to the official "Moniteur" of August 7.

¹⁹ The rabbis Lévi of Luneville and Marx of Bayonne preached from the pulpit, the rabbi of Colmar issued a pastoral letter, the Consistory of the Lower-Rhine and the Jewish Philanthropic Society of the Upper Rhine published an appeal for the collection of funds. The two leading Jewish periodicals in the country wrote eloquent editorials. Even the numerous, but poor Algerian and Tunisian Jews, immediately responded to the call. Cf. especially UI XVI, 19-27, AI XI (1860) p. 427f., 430f., 433, 515f.

²⁰ UI *ibid.* AI p. 432. Only the reactionary elements objected to the Jewish initiative in the matter. "Do the Jews wish to monopolize the defence of civilization and humanity?" asked the Paris legitimist paper "L'Union." The "Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung" likewise remonstrated against Plée's praise of Jewish tolerance, recalling the generally intolerant attitude of the Semitic nations. Cf. AZdJ p. 485.

²¹ The letter appeared in the "Times" of July 12, and is reprinted in *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, ed. by Loewe II (London 1890) 112f., where the touching story is told, how the then seventy-six years old banker tried late at night to reach the "Times" in order not to lose a valuable day for the urgent relief action.

correligionists urging them actively to participate in the subscriptions.²² The prominent part played by the Jews in these collections was so obvious that an Anglo-Catholic opponent of the relief-action declared it to be "nothing else, but a mere Protestant-Israelitish job"²³ in the hands of such men as Sir Culling Eardley and Sir Moses Montefiore. These were, indeed, next to its President, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, former British ambassador in Constantinople, the most influential members of the Committee. Had the assailant known that Sir Culling himself was, on his mother's side, a descendant from the Jewish family of Abudiente or Gideon,²⁴ he might have denounced it with still less reserve as an Israelitish job. In fact, Sir Culling had all his life been, for religious reasons, deeply interested in the conditions of the Jews throughout the world and, particularly in these years, proved to be a staunch defender of Jewish rights in the Mortara case. It was no mere boast, when he declared in a letter to Montefiore (Nov. 10, 1860) "that at all times to do anything for the House of Israel is always a pleasure for me."²⁵

The action, taken by the leaders of the two Western countries could not fail to influence the Jewries of other lands. For example, the correspondent of the Paris "Nord" reported from Russia that Crémieux' appeal "has been reproduced by nearly all Russian papers and that it has created an extraordinary sensation in Russia." Thus the Jewish students of the University of Moscow made a collection, the proceeds of which they forwarded to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Jews of St. Petersburg got together 19,995 rubles.²⁶ The Hebrew periodical "ha-Karmel" in Vilna, frequently reported²⁷ the results of those collections in the different Russian cities, such as Vilna, Odessa,

²² Cf. JChr July 20, 27, August 3, and 31.

²³ Rev. William Palgrave in a letter dated September 28, 1860, published in the "Weekly Register" and reprinted in JChr Febr. 15, 1861.

²⁴ Dictionary of National Biography XVI, 316. Cf. JE V, 662-4.

²⁵ JChr December 21, 1860.

²⁶ Ibid. September 28.

²⁷ P. 105, 106, 119, 137 and 233. Among the individual contributions were that of I. Zabłodowski in Białystok in the amount of 150 rbl. and of A. (?) Efrom, who sent 400 frcs. directly to Crémieux. Cf. also AI XI, 723.

Bialystok, Pinsk and Minsk. The Italian Jews, generally following the lead of their French correligionists, likewise hastened to send their donations. The community of Leghorn was one of the earliest contributors. The periodical "Educatore Israelita" reprinted Crémieux' appeal and frequently reported on the progress of the collections in Italy and abroad.²⁸ Overseas, too, large collections were made. For example, the Jews of Kingston, Jamaica, contributed £100, while the total collections among the rest of the population amounted to £16, 3 s. 9 d only. In Adelaide, Australia, the Jews collected £20, in Capetown £49, 10 s., in Dutch Curaçao 875 fl. etc.²⁹

On the other hand, the Jewries of Germany and the United States remained comparatively aloof. This was due partly to the memory of the previous persecutions by the Christians of Damascus, and partly to the discouragement occasioned by the news of the fresh wave of anti-Jewish feeling among them. More important, however, was the different attitude of the two countries to the Syrian massacres in general. Politically far less interested in the Eastern question than either France, England or Russia, the governments of the United States, Prussia and the minor German principalities received with much greater calm the reports concerning the movements of the Druzes. Even Austria was far more concerned about the Balkan situation than about that in Syria. But while in Germany a few appeals were issued by leading Jews in favor of the Syrian relief³⁰ and no open

²⁸ E.g. the Jews of Rome sent to the French "Moniteur" 432 frcs. The Jewish Youth Benevolent Society of that city sent to Crémieux a small gift (July 24). Crémieux was so touched by a contribution which he had received from six young Jews in Rome, that he pathetically replied on September 5: "L'obole que vous m'avez transmise pour les Chrétiens du Liban sourit au Dieu d'Israel, et vos prières pour ces infortunés adorateurs du Christ montent comme un doux parfum vers le trône de celui qui a fait alliance avec les fils de Jacob." EI VIII, 548.

²⁹ JChr Febr. 15, 1861. Curaçao had at that time a Jewish population of only 1013. Cf. AZdJ p. 581.

³⁰ E.g. that of Rabbi Waelder of Laupheim in Wuerttemberg in the "Schwaebischer Merkur." The success was equally small in Southern as in Northern Germany. In Hamburg there was, in addition, a special "collision between Jewish and Christian benevolence." Cf. JChr November 9.

opposition made itself felt,³¹ the principal American Jewish periodical of the time, the Philadelphia "Occident," assumed, from the beginning, a rather antagonistic attitude. In his editorial of August 9, Rabbi Isaac Leeser warned his readers to distrust the news which came exclusively from Christian sources and urged them to "suspend their sympathy till they see the farther development of the matter."³² After a prolonged silence he finally declared October 25:

"The European Israelites are fairly out-heroding Herod in their haste to spend money for the aid of their old persecutors. From Russia large amounts have been sent, while from the Christians in this country, so far as we have seen the statement, the amount is less than \$20,000. . ."

The Cincinnati "Deborah" was somewhat more sympathetic. Its editor, Lilienthal, commented favorably on the action of the European Jews. But even he cited an erroneous report from Damascus (first brought by the "Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung") that the whole Jewish quarter had been destroyed by fire and he declared that there was a field open for the "excellent loving-kindness" of American Jewry to help their *correligionists* in the East. Isaac M. Wise, in his editorial comments on "Crémieux's Proposition" in the "Israelite" of August 17, showed great restraint in supporting this action of good will between Jews and

³¹ Even L. Philippson's opposition was limited to the special Jewish appeals and collections. "Ein Aufruf von Juden an Juden allein ist eine Absonderung neuer Art, welche die alten Arten nur um so frischer in Gedächtniss erhalten!" But he wished, at least, that the Jews, as individuals, should contribute as much as possible. (AZdJ p. 484f.)

³² "Occident" 1860/1, p. 123. A week later (p. 129) Leeser quotes in his editorial a letter of the American missionary Dr. Wheeler, about the old feud between the Druzes and the Maronites, declaring that he wants "to give the Jewish community a chance of judging understandingly of the sincerity of the European powers . . . we should be glad to see the Israelites keeping aloof from an actual mingling in matters where the real facts are so difficult to be ascertained. We should remember the persecution in Damascus in 1840. . . We do not object to our wealthy men giving money to relieve . . . but. . . not to speak too indiscriminately of the fanaticism of the Druzes."

Christians which on all other occasions he had so warmly championed. Only the concluding sentence struck a more sympathetic cord:

"We can assure Mr. Crémieux that, on this side of the Ocean, his liberal and philanthropic idea is fully appreciated and will meet with that support it so richly deserves."

The "Jewish Messenger" of New York likewise reprinted Crémieux' appeal and expressed the hope that, if a relief committee should be founded in the city, the Jews "will keep in mind" this letter. Afterwards, however, only sparse news about the European collections, Cerfberr's letter, etc., found their way into the three journals. The editors were apparently discouraged by the reception of their first pleas. The Board of Delegates of American Israelites, meeting at its first annual session in New York at the end of August, adopted as one of its aims:

"to keep a watchful eye on occurrences at home and abroad, and see that the civil and religious rights of the Israelites are not encroached on, and call attention of the proper authorities to the facts, should any such violation occur,"

but remained silent on the Syrian situation.³³

It is also characteristic, that the Jews of Syria, among whom professional beggars always were very numerous and who now, under the general economic depression, had particular reasons to solicit support, did not avail themselves of the opportunity to ask for money out of the relief funds distributed there. Although the "principles of Unsectarianism" were fully adopted by the Syrian Relief Committee in Beirut and although it included a local representative of the Jewish faith in the person of M. E. de Picciotto, it did not receive a single application from a Jew.³⁴

³³ "Deborah" 1860/1 p. 31, 35, 46 and 51. The "Jewish Messenger" p. 44f. The "Israelite" p. 46, 52, 60, 68f., 110, 194 and 213f.

³⁴ Cf. the Committee's answer to Palgrave's attack December 19, 1860 in JChr Febr. 15, 1861.

III

In the midst of this rhetoric on the brotherhood of man and the rhapsodies on mutual good will between Christians and Jews, news from Damascus about the anti-Jewish proceedings began to trickle into Paris and London. Some of these reports were soon exaggerated by the anti-Jewish press. For instance, the "Levant Herald"³⁵ and other Constantinople papers reported from Damascus that Fuad Pasha, having established the co-responsibility of the Jews, imposed upon the Muslim population a fine of 250,000,000 and upon the Jewish community one of 4,000,000 piastres. It was further alleged that the most influential Jew in Turkey, the Constantinople banker Camondo, had tried to obtain from the Porte a cancellation of these Jewish payments. The report soon turned out to be pure invention.³⁶

The new persecutions during the absence of Fuad Pasha, however, forced the Jews to take some action. Among the local Jews a banker, by the name of Shemaya Angel³⁷ distinguished himself through his philanthropic work for the prisoners, whom he visited every day, providing them with food and other necessities. Picciotto in Beirut and Camondo in Constantinople did everything they could to avert the catastrophe. The local consuls of the Western countries were approached, but only the Prussian representative, Dr. Johann Gottfried Wetzstein, seriously took up the defense of the Jews. Having by that time served for twelve years as Prussian consul in the city, he had a thorough knowledge of the local conditions. He was also the only European consul who remained in town during all the riots, while the others, among them Brant and the French deputy consul l'Isas, had hurriedly left the city.³⁸

³⁵ The Beirut correspondent of this paper developed in general an insatiable thirst for revenge. Cf. Farley l.c. p. 26.

³⁶ The "Magdeburger Ztg." received the equally exaggerating report from Damascus dated Sept. 8, that among 1020 people arrested until that time there were about three quarters of all the Jewish merchants in the city. Cf. AZdJ p. 587.

³⁷ Cf. M. Franco, "Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman," Paris 1897, p. 209 and, for 1863, Philippson, *Neueste Gesch.* II², 339.

³⁸ Dr. Wetzstein was a prominent Oriental scholar who, after having served as a Privatdozent at the University of Berlin in 1846-8, went to Damascus,

When the sudden arrest of several Jews, in September, caused a panic in the Jewish quarter, Wetzstein opened the consulate to the Jewish refugees, as he had done with the Christians in the period of the massacre. Fourteen Jews availed themselves of that opportunity, thus temporarily enjoying Prussian protection. Moreover, on September 24, he had an interview with the governor of the city, Huammur Pasha, and with the president of the special court, Khursheed Effendi, to both of whom he appealed for the Jews on behalf of "humanity." "The first," however, as he said, "had lost his head under the pressure of affairs," while the other "lays too much emphasis upon the statement that he had administered justice with respect to Islam and he must do the same with the Jews." He submitted the whole matter to the Prussian consul in Beirut, requesting him to appeal to Fuad Pasha himself, who at that time was staying in his headquarters in that city. Apart from this, Wetzstein also wrote to the Prussian Minister in Constantinople, Count Goltz, informing him of the state of affairs and urging him "to intercede directly with his Majesty the Sultan for the Damascus Jewish community and to obtain an order to stop the prosecution organized against them." To explain the situation to the envoy he analyzed the reasons for the persecution: the inveterate enmity of the

where he combined consular service with active research in Arabic. He was also a well-known collector of Oriental books and manuscripts. Of interest to our subject is an article which he published, in 1857, in the ZDMG (XI, 475-525) on "Der Markt in Damaskus" where he has one or two references to the Jews of the city. In 1864 he resumed his position at Berlin University, counting among his students such famous future Orientalists, as Goldziher, Baudissin and Fr. Delitzsch. He died in 1905 at the age of ninety. Cf. his obituary by Nestle in *Theol. Jbb.* 1905, 1414, G. Jahn's introduction to the posthumous edition of Wetzstein's, *Die Liebenden von Amasia*, Leipsic 1906, and E. von Mülinen: *Des Nomaden Abschied. Eine Erinnerung an Konsul Dr. J. G. Wetzstein* ZDMG 79 (1925) 150-61. Cf. also Albert Cohn's letter to the editor of the JChr, dated November 20, and published there November 30: ". . . Dr. Wetzstein, a Protestant Christian, and one of the most distinguished Orientalists, is the only European consul who was able to stay in his house during the massacre, without quitting the city for one single instant. Having lived many years in that city and speaking Arabic perfectly well, he is also the owner of a small village in the vicinity of Damascus, where he has erected a mosque for the Mohammedan laborers."

local Christians, particularly of the Greek-Orthodox denomination, the anger of the Muslims on account of the execution of so many of their correlative religionists and the great fear of the Jews themselves which encouraged their enemies. But the principal cause was cupidity, since the denunciation of the Jews furnished an easy opportunity to extort some money from them. The Russian and French consuls seemed as a whole to encourage the accusations, while the English consul behaved indifferently and the Austrian consulate was practically vacant. Wetzstein finishes his report stating: "I have done what I could, but real help can come only either from Fuad Pasha or through an order of the Sultan."³⁹

Goltz, not very pleased with these energetic measures of his subordinate, answered October 10, that, although he attached great importance to Wetzstein's opinion concerning the motives of the prosecution, he saw no way of interceding with the Sultan. The facts, adduced by the Consul, were hardly sufficient to justify such an unusual step before a foreign government; a step which lay entirely outside of the customary competences of an envoy. Only Fuad Pasha and the European commission were entitled to receive representations concerning an alleged wrong done in the process of investigation, to individuals or to whole classes of the population. The only thing he could do was to express to the Turkish government his warm interest in the Damascene Jews, and confidentially request the Minister of Foreign Affairs to urge the local officials in Damascus to be circumspect in accepting denunciations against Jews. At the same time, Goltz warned Wetzstein against the granting of an asylum in his own house to Turkish subjects, thus withdrawing them from the jurisdiction of the legitimate Turkish authorities. This would obviously constitute an infringement upon the sovereign rights of Turkey. Wetzstein certainly might raise his voice for members of any creed on behalf of humanity, but official steps must not be undertaken, except for those who are legally under Prussian protection. Moreover, at present there was in Syria the Prussian member of the European commission (Mr.

³⁹ See Appendix.

v. Rehfuës) who, with the full concurrence of the Porte, had the right to take an active part in the investigation and to whom, consequently, all complaints should properly be addressed.⁴⁰

Goltz is more outspoken in his report, of the same date, to the Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Schleinitz. Submitting copies of Wetzstein's letter and of his own reply, he emphasizes the lack of substantiation for Wetzstein's reasonings concerning the nature of the prosecution, as well as the latter's apparent transgression of his competences in granting refuge to the Jews in the consulate without distinction of nationality. On the other hand, Goltz reports that he has sent his first Dragoman to the Turkish Foreign Minister with the confidential request to inform Fuad Pasha of these apprehensions and to request him to recommend to the Turkish authorities in Damascus special caution in handling denunciations against the Jewish inhabitants.⁴¹

Much more important than Prussia's attitude, however, was that of England and France, the most influential powers in Syrian affairs. France, moreover, had then at its disposal the expeditionary army. The local representatives of the two countries being of little avail, only the governments in Paris and London could help. The Damascus Jews appealed directly, as well as through the Jewish community in Alexandria, to their Western correligionists asking them to invoke the protection of the two governments against the imminent miscarriage of justice.

In France the first reports from Syria of the attempts to drag in the Jews, caused a stir among the Jewish leaders.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² The unfortunate situation of Oriental Jewry seems, then as in other years, to have given rise to rumours concerning a restoration of the Jews to Palestine. This time it was Napoleon III who was said to have contemplated "to make Rothschild king of Jerusalem and open the country again for the Hebrews." These rumours, circulated in Paris, were nourished by the intimate social relationships between the emperor and the members of the banking firm. Isaac M. Wise, bringing this Paris report, editorially comments: "the thing is so absurd that none can believe it; for it is evident that European and American Israelites would not emigrate to Palestine and there fight half-savage Arabs, Druses and Turks, and wild beasts, in order to have a king of their own, the vast majority of the enlightened Hebrews being republicans in principle . . ." Cf. the "Israelite" of August 31, p. 66.

When the "Journal des Débats" reprinted from the usually well informed "Sémaphore de Marseille" a correspondence of August 18, from Aleppo, concerning the detestable conduct of the Jews who took part in the cruelties, Colonel Cerfberr, the president of the Central Consistory in Paris, immediately submitted a denial, announcing at the same time that a special investigation on the spot would bring to light the whole truth.⁴³ Indeed, it was decided to dispatch the indefatigable Albert Cohn, who had shortly before returned from a trip to Morocco, undertaken for the benefit of the oppressed Jews there, to Damascus, where he was to make a thorough inquiry. Cohn left Paris and proceeded to Marseille where he intended to embark on September 16, hoping to arrive in Damascus about September 25. He took along letters of recommendation from the Minister of Foreign Affairs de Thouvenel and the Minister of War Marshall Randon to the French consular and military officers in Syria. In the meantime, however, he received communications from the Orient which made his journey appear as no longer necessary. What these letters actually were, is difficult to ascertain. At any rate, they must have contained reassuring reports, in accordance with the comparative quiet which prevailed before Fuad Pasha's departure.⁴⁴

Soon after the abandonment of his journey, Albert Cohn made public several letters from prominent men in the East, all of which exonerated the Jews. Thus General Beaufort, the commander of the expeditionary forces, replied to Cohn's inquiry (October 8) that he had not yet been in Damascus, but

"I am glad to perceive, and this is here the general opinion, that if some Jews of the lowest classes had partici-

⁴³ Appeared in "J.d.D." September 7, and was soon reprinted by the Jewish press all over the world.

⁴⁴ Neither AI and UI nor the biographer of Cohn, Is. Loeb (*Biographie d'Albert Cohn*, Paris 1878, p. 104) give specific reasons why Cohn gave up his journey. Asked by Philippson in an editorial for the content of these letters, Cohn sent him one which he had received from the heads of the Damascus community, Nahum Lousano, Chaim Romano, Itzhak Kalon and David Farchi, dated 1, of Elul (=Aug. 19) in which they praise God for the delivery of Israel etc., but do not conceal their fear of further machinations against the Jewish community. AZdJ p. 602. Cf. also JChr Oct. 19.

pated in the pillage and even in the massacres themselves, the community as a whole is respectable and kept itself entirely outside of these happenings."

Abd-el-Kader, the famous former Emir of Tunis, who at the time lived as an exile in Damascus, replied to Cohn, October 18:

"I cannot give in regard to it precise testimony, because at the time of this agitation I was extremely busy in order to save and protect such as I could, unfortunately but too few;⁴⁵ but what I can say is, I have seen nothing and learned nothing that could go against the Jews."

Brant wrote to Jacob Peretz, the Chief Rabbi of Damascus under October 19:

. . . "I do not know that anyone of your nation has been proved to have been concerned in injuring the Christians. . . The accusations I have heard seemed to be the result of prejudice and a malicious disposition and not to be grounded on any established proof."

Only Wetzstein was again quite outspoken. In his letter to Chief Rabbi Peretz, dated October 17, he stated:

" . . . everybody knows that the Jewish quarter was then as much threatened as the Christian and nobody believed that the Mussulman guard of the quarter would either have the power or will to give protection. The consequence was that the large majority of the Jews took refuge in the Mussulman quarters and the remainder ventured not from their houses. The assertion that the Jews have shared in the pillage of the Christian quarter is, therefore, as ridiculous as slanderous. Fortunately, the mass of the Christian population is indignant at the criminations to which your correlative have hitherto been exposed; I am not aware of any Christian, be he a Catholic, Protestant, Armenian, Maronite or Syrian, having taken proceedings against a Jew for the reason in question. All the

⁴⁵ This is actually true. Cf. Abkarius l.c. p. 126-43, Poujoulat l.c. p. 388-405 and 424ff. and M. Bouron, *Les Druzes* (Paris 1930) p. 399f.

accusers of the Jews are Greeks; and as the persons through whose instrumentality these charges are made are well known, it will not be difficult to paralyse an activity, the motives of which are nothing but extortion and fanaticism."⁴⁶

In England the Jews of Damascus could count upon a still more favorable response to their appeal for help. England's political interests lay in the preservation of Turkey. Consequently the argument that many ethnic and religious groups all over the Empire, including the Jews, needed and wished the protection of the Porte against their local oppressors,⁴⁷ could only be welcomed by the British government. Also, the old sympathies of the English people for the idea of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine were easily awakened. One of its protagonists, Colonel George Gawler, addressed a letter to the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*⁴⁸ (July 30), reminding the readers that, as far back as 1845, he had postulated the "tranquilization of the East by the planting of Jewish (agricultural) settlements in Palestine."

No action, however, was taken, before the news of the sudden persecutions during the month of September opened the eyes of the responsible Anglo-Jewish leaders to the extent of the danger threatening the whole Jewish community in Damascus. The Board of Deputies received full information about the new developments through a letter of the chiefs of the Damascus community to Montefiore, dated September 23,⁴⁹ as well as through a letter of the Alexandrine community to Chief Rabbi Adler, dated October 12, to which was attached a Hebrew

⁴⁶ These letters were sent by Cohn to the editors of all Jewish periodicals in France and abroad, and really appeared in most of them. They are best to be found in MGWJ, 427-31. The English translations of the last three letters are taken from JChr November 16 and 21.

⁴⁷ Cf. the article "The massacres in Syria" in the "Times" of November 17, and in general Farley l.c.

⁴⁸ Published there August 10.

⁴⁹ This letter was signed by Hyam Romano, David Harpi, Manahem Farchi, Jacob Halevi, Jacob Peretz, Nahum Lusano, Isaac Halon, Raphael Halevi, Isaac Maimon and Aaron Jacob.

translation of an Arabic communication from Damascus.⁵⁰ After the arrival of the first letter, Sir Moses Montefiore personally communicated the complaint of the Damascus Jews to C. Hammond of the Foreign Office, in the absence of Lord John Russell, then Foreign Secretary in the Palmerston Cabinet (October 14). Two days later he sent the letter of the Damascus community in English translation to Lord John in Richmond. Without entering into further details, Sir Moses proudly stated in the accompanying note:

“there can be no doubt whatever that the Jewish body of that city is guiltless of any participation in the recent outbreak, and I venture to believe that your lordship requires no argument to satisfy your mind on this point.”

He urged Russell to grant to the Jews as heretofore the powerful support of the British government. Hammond answered on October 24:

. . . “I am to state to you in reply that her Majesty’s ambassador at Constantinople has been instructed by telegraph to take immediate steps for the protection of the Jews, and that written instructions to the same effect will be sent to Sir Henry Bulwer (the British ambassador) as well as to her Majesty’s consular agents at Beirut and Damascus.”⁵¹

Brant, prompted by Russell’s despatch as well as a letter from the British Syrian Relief Fund, which also urged protection for the Jews, gave up his luke-warm attitude. He soon began claiming credit for the release of the Jewish prisoners, which had

⁵⁰ This communication was dated Thursday Chol-ha-Moed Sukkoth 5621 (=Oct. 5, 1860) and mentioned among other things the unsuccessful exertions of the Prussian consul to protect the Jews. Cf. JChr November 2.

⁵¹ Ibid. Nov. 16, and Montefiore’s Diaries II, 116–20. This highly favorable result was probably due also to the simultaneous “admirable and affecting appeal” of Sir Culling Eardley to Russell. Ibid. p. 121. Sir Culling, when later urged to publish his correspondence with Lord John Russell concerning this affair, politely refused, giving full credit to the Foreign Secretary himself: “He is always so energetic for religious liberty that I should not like people to think that I imagined that it was my doing.” JChr Dec. 21.

taken place in the meantime. In his report to the Foreign Office of November 11, his tone is entirely different from that of his letter to Peretz, three weeks previously. "There has undoubtedly been—he declares—shameful misconduct on the part of the Christians in accusing the Jews of complicity." He would have interfered in their favor with Fuad Pasha before, but the Pasha was moving from place to place on the Lebanon and no one could tell where to find him. But now he will request an order from the Pasha to the authorities in Damascus to afford in the future an equal degree of protection to Jews and Christians.⁵² He is even more outspoken in his letter to Cyrus R. Edmonds, the secretary of the British Syrian Relief Fund in London, dated Beirut, November 20. He states therein,

"that on the arrival of Fuad Pasha I made a representation to his excellency and obtained the release of the Jewish prisoners . . . Fuad Pasha will not entertain such an accusation unless the accuser gives a bond that within a fixed time he will make good his accusation or, in default, forfeit his bond."

He also exculpates himself that immediately after the imprisonment of the Jews, he applied to the local authorities for their release, but was told that no accused person could be discharged in the absence of Fuad Pasha. Finally he remarks that no Jew under British protection has ever been molested.⁵³

As to the other governments we hear little of an intervention on the part of Austria or Russia. In the absence of the Austrian consul in Damascus, the Jewish dragoman, Elias Joseph, did everything in his power to counteract the prosecution. Captain Jonas P. Levy of Washington, D. C.,⁵⁴ submitted on behalf of the Jews in Damascus, an extensive correspondence to J. S.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid. Dec. 14.

⁵⁴ Cf. about him JE VIII 60f. and A. Simon, Notes of Jewish Interests in Washington, D. C. (Publ. of Am. J. Hist. Soc. 26, 213-18: "During his residence of seven years not a question affecting the interests of Jews anywhere failed to find in him a staunch advocate").

Black, Secretary of State (December 21) adding in the accompanying note:

" . . . I asked that our government may unite with Great Britain in their praiseworthy efforts to save and protect the innocent from those diabolical acts of the wicked. Our ships of war on the Coast of Syria, if so instructed, can be of material aid to the diplomatic course . . . I beg of you to bring this to the early attention of His Excellency the President, who, I well know, is bowed down with heavy oppression on the part of our blessed Union which God grant he may preserve entire; and that nothing may disrupt the bonds which unite this Republic."

Black answered briefly, December 31, that both the letter and the attached printed matter "have been transmitted to the Minister Resident of the United States at Constantinople."⁵⁵

This obviously was a much belated move. But neither could the other diplomatic interventions have more than a moral effect. In regard to the accusations of the Jews, too, Fuad Pasha, sensing the forthcoming interference of the foreign powers, hastened to settle the matter of his own accord. Almost immediately after his unexpected return to Damascus in October, he released thirteen of the fourteen prisoners still alive, retaining only Mordecai Ashkenazi, who had been previously condemned to death.⁵⁶ At a new trial, May 11, 1861, Ashkenazi too, was found innocent. Fuad Pasha severely punished the Turkish officers guilty of connivance with the accusers. For example, he discharged his Christian agent, Ibrahim Keramin, because of his

⁵⁵ "Occident" p. 253. It is characteristic that neither the Occident nor the Deborah (p. 115) nor JChr. (March 1, 1861), all of which reprint this correspondence, add any comment of their own, while the "Israelite" and the "Jewish Messenger" refrain from mentioning it altogether.

⁵⁶ Cohn received this information first through a letter, in Italian, of the community in Alexandria, dated Oct. 25, and then through a direct message of the thirteen liberated Jews of November 11. Cf. AZdJ p. 674, MGWJ p. 417f. etc. Later Fuad Pasha himself officially informed the British government that all persecutions of the Jews in Damascus have been discontinued. His letter was forwarded by the Foreign Office to Montefiore. Cf. his Dairies II, 124.

refusal, during the Pasha's absence, to hear testimony exonerating a Jewish prisoner.

These measures soon became known and both the Turkish and European press now admitted the complete innocence of the Jews. The "Journal de Constantinople," the London "Times" (November 17), and the German "Allgemeine Zeitung" (November 9), brought reports that all the accusations had turned out to have had no foundation whatever. The following Constantinople correspondence to the New York "World," dated November 14, is typical of the tenor of these recantations:

"In a former letter I did an unintentional injustice to the Jews of Damascus, and I am now very happy to be able to correct the statement I then made . . . We have now official letters from the English and French consuls there to the effect that the Jews were not at all implicated in those outbreaks. Fuad Pasha corroborates these statements. This bears the evidence of truth upon its face . . .⁵⁷

The authors of the numerous books and pamphlets on the Syrian massacres, which appeared in rapid succession during the closing months of 1860 and the beginning of 1861, mentioned nothing about the participation of the Jews in the riots. Even François Lénormant in a new booklet, issued in 1861,⁵⁹ remained silent on the subject, although he refrained from making apologies to the Jews for his unbridled denunciation of the previous year. The Jews, seeing their honor vindicated and peace, at least temporarily, restored in the ever troublesome city of Damascus,⁶⁰ turned their attention to other, more pressing problems of the day.

⁵⁷ JChr. Dec. 14 and 21, Franco l.c. p. 160.

⁵⁸ Reprinted in the "Israelite," p. 194.

⁵⁹ "Histoire des massacres de Syrie en 1860" Paris 1861.

⁶⁰ Febr. 12, 1861, Montefiore, Eardley and others made another attempt to secure protection for the religious minorities in Syria. In a personal interview with Palmerston, they tried to influence the Prime Minister to dispatch British troops to Syria for this purpose. Palmerston, whose whole policy was then bent upon the evacuation of the French expeditionary forces, naturally declined.

APPENDIX⁶¹

I

Buyukdere, d. 10. October 1860.

Seiner Excellenz dem Koeniglichen Staatsminister und Minister der auswaertigen Angelegenheiten Herrn Freiherrn von Schleinitz zu Berlin.

Mittelst des anliegend in Abschrift gehorsamst beigefuegten Berichtes vom 24.v. Mts hat der Koenigliche Consul zu Damascus meine unmittelbare Intervention bei dem Sultan nachgesucht, damit durch einen grossherrlichen Befehl die, gegen die dortige Judengemeinde angeblich organisirte Verfolgung eingestellt werde.

Eure Excellenz wollen aus diesem Berichte Hochgeneigtest ersehen, dass der Dr. Wetzstein einen so ungewoehnlichen Antrag durch keinerlei Thatsachen, vielmehr nur durch seine Auffassung begrundet, wonach die, wegen Verdachts der Theilnahme an der Ermordung der Christen und an der Pluenderung des Christenquartiers von den tuerkischen Behoerden gefaenglich eingezogenen Juden an jenen Verbrechen unschuldig sein und die Verhaftungen nur durch den Hass der Christen, den Ingrimme der Muselmanen, die Furcht der Juden und die Habsucht ihrer Anklaeger veranlasst worden sein sollen. Nicht minder ergiebt der erwaehte Bericht, dass der Consul Wetzstein sich fuer befugt gehalten zu haben scheint, den juedischen Einwohnern ohne Unterschied der Nationalitaet bis auf Weiteres ein Asyl im Koeniglichen Consulatsgebaeude zu gewaehren, um dieselben dadurch vor Verhaftungen sicher zu stellen.

Ich habe darauf an den Koeniglichen Consul heute dasjenige Schreiben gerichtet, welches ich gleichfalls abschriftlich beizufuegen die Ehre habe und dessen Inhalt, wie ich hoffe, Eurer Excellenz Billigung finden duerfte. Ich schicke dasselbe sub volanti an den Koeniglichen Commissarius, damit derselbe von seinem Inhalte Kenntniss nehme. Gleichzeitig habe ich den

⁶¹ The following documents are found in the Secret Prussian State Archive in Berlin under AA Sect. III, Rep. XVI, I, No. 1, vol. VIII.

Ersten Dollmetscher der Koeniglichen Gesandtschaft beauftragt, die tuerkischen Minister vertraulich zu bitten, die gehegten Besorgnisse zur Kenntniss Fuad Paschas zu bringen und demselben anheim zu geben, den tuerkischen Behoerden in Damascus die groesste Vorsicht in Beziehung auf die, gegen juedische Einwohner gerichteten, wohl nicht selten von unlauteren Motiven eingegebenen Denunciationen zu empfehlen.

GOLTZ.

II

Herrn Grafen v.d. Goltz etc.

Abschrift Anlage A.

Constantinopel

Damaskus d. 24. September 1860.

Herr Minister,

Waehrend die durch die Zerstoerung des Christenquartiers veranlassten gerichtlichen Verfolgungen der hiesigen Muselmanen nachgelassen haben und wie es scheint in kurzem ihre voellige Endschaft erreicht haben werden, zieht sich ueber das hiesige Judenquartier ein Gewitter zusammen. In einem fruheren Schreiben habe ich die Ehre gehabt Ew.pp ueber die Schritte zu berichten, die ich bereits zu Gunsten der hiesigen Judengemeinde, sowohl direct bei Fuad Pascha, als auch bei Churschid Ef. dem hiesigen Praesidenten des "ausserordentlichen Gerichtshofs" hatte thun muessen. Jene Schritte waren nicht erfolglos, aber seitdem ist Fuad P. nach Beirut abgereist und man verfaehrt wiederum gewalthtaetiger; ein Israelit, der blind und lahm war, und nichts destoweniger des Mordes angeklagt worden, ist in diesen Tagen im Gefaengnisse gestorben, andere sind wohl meist aus uebermaessigem Schrecken schwer erkrankt und man denkt nicht daran, die gegen sie erhobenen Klagen zu erledigen. Diese Klagen ruehren saemmtlich von Christen her und man beschuldigt die Juden, bei der Katastrophe des Christenquartiers getoedtet und gepluendert zu haben. Gestern wurde von Neuem auf 17 Juden gefahnt und heute ist vom Chef der Polizei wieder ein langes Verzeichniss von einzubringenden Juden eingehaendigt

worden. Da der Tuesenk-dschi-baschi mein alter Bekannter ist, so habe ich das Verzeichniss selbst gesehn. Der dadurch veranlasste Schrecken unter den Juden veranlasste mich, heute frueh wiederum das Consulats-Gebaeude zu oeffnen, wie zur Zeit der Christenverfolgung; 14 Maenner haben sich in dasselbe gefluechtet und ich werde ihnen vollkommenen Schutz gewaehren, bis entweder Fuad P. das hiesige Gouvernement angewiesen, der Gewalt gegen die Juden Einhalt zu thun, oder dahin lautende Befehle aus Constantinopel eingetroffen sein werden. Im Interesse der verletzten Humanitaet bin ich heute Mittags beim Gouverneur Huammar Pascha und bei Churschid Ef. gewesen, der erste hat bei der Menge und Dringlichkeit der Geschaefte den Kopf verloren und der andere betonte die Phrase—"er habe dem Islam gegenueber Gerechtigkeit geuebt und muesse es auch den Juden gegenueber"—zu sehr, als dass die beiden Conferenzen guenstige Folgen fuer die Juden haben koennten. Zu diesem Zwecke habe ich mich ferner heute amtlich an den Koenigl. Consul in Beirut gewendet, wo sich momentan Fuad P. befindet, und darum wende ich mich auch mit diesem gehorsamsten Schreiben an Ew. pp, um Sie, Herr Graf, zu bitten,

"bei S. Maj. dem Grossherrn fuer die hiesige Judengemeinde unmittelbar intercediren und einen Befehl zur Einstellung der gegen dieselben organisirten Verfolgung guetigst auswirken zu wollen."

Je eher das geschieht, desto mehr wird es nuetzen, denn momentan, wo die Christen ruinirt und alle wohlhabenden Muselmaenner geflohen sind, wird der Marktverkehr einzig von den Juden getragen; sollten der fortdauernden Anfeindungen wegen auch sie vom Markt verschwinden, so ist Damaskus voellig zu Grunde gerichtet.

Die Ursachen der Judenverfolgung sind folgende: Ein uralter Hass der hiesigen Christen, namentlich griechischen Cultus', gegen die Juden, ferner der Ingrim der Musulmanen, wegen Hinrichtung so vieler "Glaebiger" und das Verlangen, sich dafuer an den Juden schadlos zu halten, sodann die masslose Furcht des israelitischen Geschlechts, welche ihre Gegner er-muthigte. Die haupsaechlichste Ursache aber ist die *Habsucht*,

denn die gegen die Juden erhobenen Anklagen sind das Mittel, um diese zu brandschatzen, gerade wie es im J. 1839 bei dem scheusslichen Judenprocesse wegen Verschwinden des Pater Thoma der Fall war, wo ein Dutzend Juden unter der Folter starb und dreimal soviele mit grossen Summen gebrandschatzt wurden.

Schon haben die hiesigen Israeliten an Montefiore und Crémieux geschrieben und bald wird die europäische Presse nicht sowohl ueber tuerkische Indolenz als vielmehr die consularische Thaetigkeit Beschwerde fuehren. Das russische und franzoesische Consulat scheint allerdings das Vorgehen der christlichen Klaeger gegen die Juden zu beguenstigen; der englische Consul ist ein sich um Nichts bekuemmernder Greis und das oesterreichische Consulat ist augenblicklich so gut als nicht vertreten. Was ich thun konnte, habe ich gethan, aber wirkliche Abhilfe kann nur Fuad P. oder ein grossherrlicher Befehl gewaehren.

Genehmigen u.s.w.

(gez.) WETZSTEIN.

III

An Herrn pp. Weber! Damaskus

Abschrift Anlage B.

Ew. p.p. gefaelligen Bericht vom 24ten v.M., betreffend die Verhaftungen israelitischer Einwohner, habe ich gestern erhalten. Bei der Ihnen beiwohnenden genauen Kenntniss der localen Verhaeltnisse und der Urheber der dort vorgekommenen Grauel-scenen kann ich nicht umhin, der von Ihnen ausgesprochenen Besorgniss, dass manche jener Verhaftungen durch die Theilnahme der betreffenden Individuen an der Pluenderung des Christenquartiers und an der Ermordung christlicher Einwohner nicht gerechtfertigt, vielmehr durch unlautere Beweggruende veranlasst sein moechten, einen grossen Werth beizumessen. Indessen kann mich dies nicht veranlassen, Eurem p.p. Antrage gemaess bei Sr. Majestaet den Sultan fuer die Judengemeinde

von Damaskus unmittelbar zu intercediren und einen Grossherrlichen Befehl zur Einstellung der, gegen dieselbe organisirte Verfolgung auszuwirken.

Ew. p.p. werden ermessen, dass mir zur Begruendung eines so ungewoehnlichen und ausserhalb meiner Befugnisse liegenden Schrittes jede factische Grundlage fehlt, indem ich mich ausser Stande befinden wuerde, nachzuweisen, dass die tuerkischen Behoerden zur Verhaftung juedischer Einwohner nicht auf Grund ihnen vorliegender gewichtiger Indicien schreiten. Der Sultan hat Behufs Pacification der Provinz und Bestrafung der Urheber der Mordscenen einen ausserordentlichen Kommissarius nach Syrien geschickt und mit denjenigen Befugnissen ausgestattet, deren Ausuebung sonst nur dem Souverain selbst zusteht. Die Grossmaechte haben, um Hand in Hand mit diesem Repraesentanten des Sultans zu demselben Zwecke mitzuwirken, Kommissaire nach Syrien entsendet. An Fuad Pascha und die europaeische Kommission werden also diejenigen Vorstellungen zu richten sein, welche bestimmt sind, Ungerechtigkeiten gegen einzelne Einwohner oder ganze Classen der Bevoelkerung zu verhueten. Hier fehlt jedes Material zur Beurtheilung solcher Vorstellungen.

Alles, was ich hiernach in der beregten Angelegenheit thun kann und thun werde, muss sich darauf beschaerken, dass ich den tuerkischen Ministern mein warmes Interesse dafuer zu erkennen gebe, dass gegen die juedischen Einwohner von Damaskus nicht minder wie gegen die christlichen und muhamedanischen Gerechtigkeit geuebt werde, und dass ich denselben vertraulich empfehle, die dortigen tuerkischen Behoerden vor allzu leichtglaebiger Aufnahme von Denunciationen zu warnen, welche bisweilen von Religionshass, Rachsucht und Habsucht eingegeben sein moegen.

Gleichzeitig kann ich aber nicht umhin, Ew. p.p. darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass Sie Ihre Befugnisse ueberschreiten und einen Eingriff in die Hoheitsrechte der tuerkischen Regierung begehen wuerden, wenn Sie durch das *tuerkischen* Unterthanen in Ihrem Hause gewaehrte Asyl, dieselben der *tuerkischen Obrigkeit* gegenueber in Schutz nehmen wollten. Ew. p.p. werden gewiss stets den Absichten der Koeniglichen Regierung gemaess handeln, wenn Sie bei den tuerkischen Behoerden ihre Stimme im Interesse

der Humanitaet zu Gunsten was immer fuer Religionsgenossen erheben, die ersteren vor Missgriffen warnen und auf die Folgen von Ungerechtigkeiten aufmerksam machen. Zu offiziellen Schritten sind Sie aber nur zu Gunsten *Preussischer Schutzbefohlener* befugt und am allerwenigsten wuerde es gerechtfertigt sein, wenn Sie tuerkische Unterthanen durch Aufnahme in Ihr Haus der Landesjustiz entzoegen. Zu einer amtlichen Einmischung in die inneren Angelegenheiten der tuerkischen Verwaltung in Syrien ist nur der Koenigliche Kommissarius vermoege der ihm ertheilten besonderen Vollmachten und der ausdruecklichen Zustimmung der Hohen Pforte berechtigt. An diesen werden Ew. p.p. also wohl thun, Sich in allen Angelegenheiten der bezeichneten Art zu wenden. Sein Verkehr mit dem Vertreter des Sultans wird ihn in den Stand setzen am schnellsten Abhuelfe zu schaffen, wo die Verhaeltnisse wirklich eine solche erheischen.

(gezeichnet) GOLTZ.

PROVERBS AND APHORISMS IN HEBREW LITERATURE

(Suggestions for a work on this subject)

ISRAEL DAVIDSON

A comprehensive and methodical work on Proverbs and Maxims in Hebrew literature is still a desideratum. Most of the existing works on the subject limit themselves to the Talmud, even to the exclusion of Midrashic literature, not to speak of later Mediaeval Hebrew literature, and not one of them deserves commendation for the method they employ. By this latter statement, I mean, that all of them fail to give satisfaction in regard to two essential points. First, practically all of them incorporate proverbs with mere literary quotations, which may lead the student to lose sight of the fact, that the essential characteristics of the proverb are brevity, wit or pungency, and the crystallization of the wisdom that comes from experience. Secondly, all of them arrange their material alphabetically according to the beginnings of the proverbs or quotations, which lessens their usefulness, because one has to know the beginning of a particular proverb or quotation before he can find it. In the case of proverbs culled from Mediaeval Hebrew literature one is confronted by another difficulty, namely, that the same proverb begins differently in different sources.

The nearest approach to a methodical treatment of the subject is found in Tavyov's *אוצר המשלים והפתגמים* (Berlin 1922) which contains proverbs from other sources than the Talmud and is also supplied with a subject index. But aside from the fact that the plan should have been reversed, arranging the material by subjects and giving an index of the beginnings, it adopts the same method as other collections and groups mere quotations together with proverbs.¹

¹ E. g. No. 1 נופא בא מלאך וספרו על פיו No. 568 אב בחכמה ורך בשנים No. 795 . דעובדא היכי הוה

Another work which does not limit itself to Talmudic literature in its choice of proverbs is the collection of *פתנמים ומבטאים* which Bialik and Ravnitzky appended to their *ספר האגדה* (Odessa 1911). But the very title shows that the work does not discriminate between proverbs (*פתנמים*) and quotations (*מבטאים*). The most glaring fault of both these collections, however, is that they show a haphazard manner in the selection of their material. This will become evident by a partial comparison of the contents of these two works. Disregarding the Biblical proverbs which Tavyov includes in his work, because this class of proverbs does not fall within the scope of Bialik and Ravnitzky's, we will find that of the first 100 numbers in Tavyov's work only 60 are Talmudic and Post Talmudic, and comparing these 60 with the first 60 in Bialik-Ravnitzky we find that they have only 36 proverbs in common,² so that a combination of the proverbs found in both would yield us 84 instead of 60. If this be a fair measure of the omissions in each, we can see how far short they fall from what we might expect from the subtitles.³ Of course, Bialik and Ravnitzky may have limited themselves to those aphorisms related to the contents of their *ספר האגדה*,⁴ but we can find no such apology for Tavyov.

² The numbers in Tavyov's work not found in Bialik-Ravnitzky's are 11-15, 21, 23, 28, 32, 40, 42, 65, 66, 68, 69, 71, 76, 85-87, 91-93, 95. The numbers in Bialik-Ravnitzky's work not found in Tavyov's are 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 19-21, 23-25, 28, 31, 33-35, 41-43, 45, 47, 48, 57, 59.

³ The subtitle in Tavyov's book reads: *כולל כל המשלים והרבוים המשליים והמליצות*: *וההלצות השגורים* בפי הבריות ושהתאזרחו בספרות (או שהם ראויים לכך) ושמקורם בתנ"ך ובתלמודים ובמדרשים ובספרות שלאחרי התלמוד או שאין להם שום מקור בספרותי אמרי אינשי, משלי הבריות מאמרי הכמים ועוד מלוקטים. מתוך התלמוד והמדרשים ומשאר ספרים.

⁴ The second edition of Bialik-Ravnitzky's work, however, seems to be independent of the *ספר האגדה*. It bears the title *משלים ופתנמים מלקטים* (Berlin, 1924). The editors profited from the example set by Tavyov, and included also proverbs based on Biblical verses. They have also increased the number of Talmudic and Midrashic proverbs. For, whereas, in the first edition we reach No. 60 with the proverb *אטו בשופטני עסקינן* in the second edition this proverb is No. 94, showing an increase of 34 numbers. This however, is no evidence of its completeness, because there are still 8 proverbs listed by Tavyov which are missing

It is far from my intention to find fault with these two works which are excellent otherwise, and deserve special praise for the numerous elucidations which accompany many of the proverbs and quotations. Tavyov's work has the additional merit that it is preceded by an excellent introduction on the history and development of the Proverb in Hebrew literature. But I am taking these two works, which are the best of their kind, to show, that even they are not completely satisfactory, due to the faulty method in which the material was collected and arranged.

The ideal work of reference on Proverbs should be arranged by subjects. In fact Gabirol's *מבחר הפנינים* and Joseph Kimhi's poetic rendition of it were constructed according to such a plan. Only they are limited to ethical and philosophical aphorisms. An index of the beginnings to the *מבחר הפנינים* would make it an ideal compendium as far as ethical and philosophical proverbs are concerned. This method, however, presents very great difficulties in the larger field of proverbs. For, many a proverb has a connotation quite different from its literal meaning, and one is confronted with the problem of finding a suitable word to convey the idea of a proverb. To take only one instance out of a multitude of examples. The proverb *נור קליל מוקיד גדישין סניאין* or its Hebrew version *אש מעט שורפת גדישין הרבה* can certainly not be put under the rubric *אש* or *שרף* or *גדיש*. In *אלפא ביתא דבן סירא* it is brought in connection with the evil affects of slander, and as Neubauer pointed out it is also used in the same connection in the Epistle of James (III,5) "Behold how much wood is kindled by how small a fire."⁵ Nevertheless to put it under the rubric of *לשון הרע* would not be entirely satisfactory, because the general connotation of this proverb is that from small mischief much harm may result. In fact it is similar to the idea implied

in this edition (They are Nos. 12, 21, 28, 65, 68, 69, 85, 87). Aside from this, the method followed by Bialik and Ravnitzky in placing Biblical, Talmudical and Post Talmudic proverbs in three separate alphabets diminishes rather than increases its value as a book of reference.

⁵ Cf. Cowley and Neubauer, The original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus (Oxford, 1897), p. xxix. The editions read *דליק* but Neubauer suggested the emendation which finds support both in the Hebrew version as well as in the Epistle of James.

in Proverbs 17,14 פוטר מים ראשית מרון. The problem is, then, to find a rubric under which this and similar proverbs can be put; and while there may be a variety of terms from which to choose, or because of it, the problem becomes difficult. Still, by means of cross references one may succeed in overcoming this difficulty.

The problem of arrangement, however, is second in order. The first is the problem of gathering the material. We have seen how the two best works are far from complete. The reason for it can only be the fact that the material was gathered in a haphazard way. In the present paper I am to show how the material is to be gathered and how it is to be presented in final form. Incidentally I hope that my attempt will also show what is to be regarded as a real proverb, though in this regard, many different opinions may prevail, depending upon the literary taste and discrimination of the compiler.

In gathering the proverbs, imbedded in literature, we should not rely upon the chance of meeting one here and one there. A systematic and thorough search of all books must be made. Many proverbs are hidden in literary nooks and corners where we would least expect to find them. To cite a few illustrations. Dr. Ginzberg called my attention to two proverbs in אבודרהם, to seven in אור זרוע, to three in ארחות חיים, and to one in האשכול. These works are certainly far from being depositories of aphorisms, and yet one must not overlook them. It is even possible that a final analysis will show that the proverbs contained in works such as these are taken from older sources, as i. e. the one in אבודרהם (ed. Warsaw, p. 77) מנהג מבטל הלכה which is already found in (ב"מ ריש פרק השוכר את הפועלים) ירושלמי. Yet no source must be neglected. Of course the main and first objective must be to make an exhaustive list of proverbs from works that are likely to contain them in great numbers.

The next step to gathering the proverbs is the arranging of them under proper headings. Through this grouping, many proverbs, which otherwise would be counted as separate items, would be proven to be only different versions of one and the same proverb. If, for instance, we accept the saying of R. Hosiah מנהג מבטל הלכה as a genuine proverb, it is clear that we may regard it only as a later form of the Tannaitic dictum הכל כמנהג המדינה;

and there can be no question that a proverb like the one cited above from the **אלפא ביתא דבן סירא** should not be counted twice because it is found in Aramaic and in Hebrew. Grouping them by subjects would also show how much later literature borrowed from older sources. Thus e. g. many of the proverbs in the Zohar are Talmudic aphorisms dressed up in Aramaic garb. For illustration I cite here in a note ten such cases.⁶ Furthermore such classification would prove more satisfactory, from the point of view of folklore. We would be able to see at a glance what practical wisdom we have preserved in our literature as a result of our national experience. On the other hand reading any of the collections of proverbs which we have now is like listening to the tuning of an orchestra. Each sound by itself may be beautiful and may belong to some beautiful melody but in the tuning there is no connection between one sound and another. Of the facility with which a proverb could be found, without remembering the beginning, I have already spoken, and I have also pointed out already the necessity of an index to the first words and cross references.

Another feature of an ideal book on Hebrew proverbs would be if it gave parallels in European languages. This could, in

⁶ The Zohar passages are taken from the collection of Proverbs and Aphorisms in the Zohar by N. S. Libowitz (Jerusalem, 1931). For the sake of brevity I will cite the Zohar passages only by their number in Libowitz' collection and give their corresponding Talmudic or Midrashic passages in full. No. 116 equals the Talmudic proverb **אם בא להרנך השכם להורנו (ברכות נ"ח ע"א)**
No. 117 equals the Talmudic proverb **בדרך שאדם רוצה לילך בה מוליכין אותו (מכות י')**

No. 334 equals the Talmudic proverb **שרנא בטיהרא מאי אהני (חולין ס' עב)**
No. 336 equals the Talmudic proverb **כל אומן שונא בר אומנתיה (ב"ר פי"ט, ד)**
No. 449 equals the Talmudic proverb **אין חלום בלי דברים בטלים (ברכות נ"ה ע"א)**
No. 463 equals the Talmudic proverb **דרכו של איש לחזור אחר אשה (קדושין ב, ע"ב)**
No. 546 equals the Talmudic proverb **מעקימת שפתוך ניכר שת"ח אחה (מעילה י"ז ע"ב)**
No. 584 equals the Talmudic proverb **עולם הפוך ראיתי עליונים למטה ותחתונים למעלה (פסחים נ' ע"א)**

No. 609 equals the Talmudic proverb **הקב"ה מקדים הרטיה ואח"כ הוא מכה (מדרש חזית פ"ד)**

No. 612 equals the Talmudic proverb **הקב"ה במה שהוא מכה הוא מרפא (מכילתא בשלח)**

many cases, help us to decide how much Hebrew literature borrowed from European literature and vice versa.

In some cases, I have no doubt, it would even help us to decide the age and country of an anonymous or pseudonymous work.

Having these ideas in mind I am presenting here a list of 81 proverbs found in one of the most interesting books of the Middle Ages, the *Maḥberoth* of Immanuel of Rome,⁷ following it up with a list of subjects under which they ought to be classified in a comprehensive work on proverbs, and giving also some 34 parallels from older Hebrew sources.

These parallels will show first that not all the proverbs were original with Immanuel, and secondly that the sources from which he drew his proverbial wisdom were not of the Italian Renaissance period, as might have been suspected, but go back to the Spanish period which was so much influenced by Arabic literature.

1. המגור לא ידחה מה שגמור (א, 5).⁸
2. מעשה אבות יעשו בנים (א, 6).⁹
3. טובות הזמן ורעותיו מדומות,
והבוטחים בו נמשלו כבהמות (א, 8).¹⁰
4. הפרוטה איננה תהלה וגרה איננה מעלה (א, 9).¹¹
5. מעט פתיות ומורך לבב וכילות הם מעלה באשה
ובאנשים הוללות (א, 12).
6. האשה סבת העדר הקניינים (א, 13).
7. אין שומר לנשים כי אם כעור פנים (א, 14).¹¹
8. החולי הוא זקן מקרי אך הזקן חולי טבעי (ד, 29).¹²
9. הכילי כל אשר בתוכו יטמא, כי הוא ירא להסך את רגליו פן יצמא (ה, 42).

⁷ I am using the edition of Lemberg 1870. Each proverb is followed by the number of the chapter in Hebrew characters and the number of the page in Arabic numerals.

⁸ Identical with the proverb in מוסרי הפילוסופים (Frankfurt a. M. 1896) p. 49, No. 6.

⁹ This proverb is already found in Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on Gen. ix, 18.

¹⁰ Cf. הבטחון על הזמן מוקש ולבטוח עליו סכלות: p. 22, No. 92: מוסרי הפי'.

¹¹ Cf. משלי חכמים (in Edelman, דרך טובים, London 1852 p. 20–22) No. 21. הכעור שומר הנשים.

¹² Identical with המלך והמיר (Wandsbeck 1727) Chapter xxv, 85b.

10. הכילי נתעב כי הוא יפחד לבדוק נקביו פן ירעב (ה, 42).
11. מה יעשה מגיה הספר ולא יהיה לחרפות ישים עליו נוספות (ו, 50).
12. מיטב השיר כזבו (ח, 63). (כא, 172),¹³
13. מה נאווה המחילה בהיות היכולת על הנקמה (י, 79).¹⁴
14. מה נאווה הקדושה בימי הבחרות והעצמה (שם, שם).^{14a}
15. כמה טוו החבלים אשר בס נתלו (י, 78).
16. כמה כרו שיחות אשר בתוכם נפלו (שם).
17. כמה חצבו האבנים אשר בס נסקלו (שם).
18. כמה ברחו מן הכבוד וחכמה וכבוד יספו וכמה רדפוהו וכמוץ הרים רודפיו רודפו (שם).
19. אדם ענק לפעמים בזבוב נחנק (יא, 83, 86).
20. בצורך תכיר חבירך (שם, 86).¹⁵
21. הגנבים כשיריבו תגלה הגנבה (שם, 87).¹⁶
22. הסברות יתבטלו כשיעידו הכתובים (שם).
23. הצורך רב יתיר החוק (שם).¹⁷
24. הטובע יחזיק בקיץ (שם).¹⁸
25. השתיקה לפעמים טובה מהדבור (שם).
26. הענף לפעמים טוב מאבותיו (שם).
27. הגולן זה משפטו, כבולעו כן פולטו (יד, 108).
28. לא נבראת מעלת העושר והעצמה לצורך אנשי החכמה (שם, 109).
29. לא נבראו העטרות והמעילים רק לכסות ערות האוילים (שם).
30. בהיות הצואר לבן אין צורך לענק (שם).
31. החשק מפתח כל האשמים (יז, 121).
32. החשק מחלה רוחנית (שם).¹⁹
33. האשה סבת כל רע . . . היא מצודה פירש אותה השטן (יז, 123).²⁰

¹³ This adage is ascribed to Aristotle. כזב is not to be taken as a synonym of שקר but that of דמיון, imagination.

¹⁴ Comp. מוסה"פ p. 50, No. 92 אין מחילה אלא למי שיש לו יכולת.

^{14a} Comp. אמנות ודעות (Leipzig 1864), p. 92 הפרישות בבחרות יותר חשובה.

¹⁵ Comp. משלי חכמים No. 107 בעת הצורך יוכר האוהב.

¹⁶ This proverb is found in French, Spanish, Portuguese and Danish. In English it reads: "When thieves fall out their thefts come to light." Comp. H. G. Bohn, A. Polyglot of Foreign Proverbs p. 566.

¹⁷ Comp. the German proverb: "Not bricht Eisen."

¹⁸ Comp. the French proverb: "Un homme que se noie s'attache à un brin d'herbe." A drowning man clings to a blade of grass.

¹⁹ Comp. חלי מדמה chap. xviii fol. 69a (בן המלך והנזיר) = בה"מ.

²⁰ Comp. הנשים חבלי השטן chap. xxx, fol. 99a בה"מ.

34. השמש . . . לא ילקה רק בהתחברו עם הירח (שם).
- (לא ילקה שמש רק עת יתחבר עם הירח, שם 124).
35. האשה הרעה תחליף שערה ולא טבעה (י"ז, 127).²¹
36. אין לאדם להתאבל על פיר יום ולא לשמוח בעת ימצא פדיון (שם, 130).²²
37. הפיל לא יקימוהו כי אם הפילים, והענק לא יקימוהו כי אם הנפילים (י"ח, 134).
38. חסרון ההון יעלים היושר (י"ח, 139).
39. הסכלות יעלימהו העושר (שם).
40. די בנסינות מוסר ומנוחה (י"ט, 143).²³
41. אם יש מר ממות הוא הסכלות (שם).²⁴
42. קרן האיש המשכיל הענוה, וקרן הכסיל העזות והנאוה, וקרן חסר לב התענוג והתאוה (שם).
43. מי שזרע קנאה קוצר הרטה (י"ט, 144).
44. חמשה אין להם רפואה: והם השנאה שחביא הקנאה, וחברה שתתערב עמה הרכילות, ודלות שיתחבר עמו העצלות, וחולי שתתערב עמו הזקנה, ובחור שנשא זקנה (שם).
45. הכעס ראשיתו שגעון ועורון וסופו הרטה וחסרון (שם).²⁵
46. המנהג על כל דבר שלטון (שם).
47. תקוה באיש חרוץ ואם הוא רש מן הכסיל לו הון ועוץ יירש (י"ט, 145).
48. האנשים אשר גברו על תאוותם בשכלם כבר עלו על ראש הסולם (שם).
49. ההסתפקות שמונעת בעליה מזלות טוב מן ההון המביאו לידי בזיון ושפלות (שם).²⁶
50. חסרון הצורך טוב משאלתו (שם).²⁷
51. המבקש מן הכילי בקשה כמבקש חכמה מאשה, וצניעות מקדשה, ודגים מארץ יבשה (שם).
52. מי ששמע אל תאוותו כפר ביוצרו (שם).²⁸
53. הכילות גריעות והשאלה מן הכילי הפסד ושעות (שם).
54. הסדר בהוצאה היא מעלה נפלאה (שם).
55. החרטה אשר תהיה בימי הזקנה מגונה (י"ט, 146).

²¹ Comp. הרעה (London 1859), chapter xxvii No. 303. מבחר הפנינים. כמו הזאב שמחליף שער ואינו מחליף טבעו.

²² Comp. ibid. chap. xlv, No. 527. אל תהי שמח במה שהגיעך מן העולם ואל תדאג. על מה שלא הגיע לך ממנו.

²³ Comp. בנסינות מוסר ובהתפוכות הימים מוכיח: p. 27, No. 22. מוסה"פ.

²⁴ Comp. המות שנים, והסכלות המות הגדול שבהם: p. 23, No. 11. מוסה"פ.

²⁵ Comp. אחריה כל קטטה הרטה chap. iii, No. 87. מבחר הפנינים.

²⁶ Identical with מבחר הפנינים chap. x, No. 166.

²⁷ Identical with מבחר הפנינים chap. xlvii, No. 571.

²⁸ Identical with מבחר הפנינים chap. xv, No. 201.

56. הטובה שבבהמות צריכה לשוט,²⁹
והטובה שבספינות למשוט,
הכשרה שבנשים לבעל,
החזק שברגלים לנעל,
הטוב שבנחשים לרציצה,
הטוב שבחצים לנוצה,
היפה שבנשים לתמרוק ורחיצה,
הקטן שבפחתים לקפיצה,
הרעתן שבאנשים צריך לשאול עצה (י"ט, 147).
57. בבקשת החכמה השלמה הותרה כל ערמה ומרמה (שם, שם).
58. שאל מי שנסה את הדברים ויתן לך בחנם מה שקנה בדמים יקרים (שם, 39).
59. לא תבוש לשאול מכל מי שיוזמן כי הוזהב בקברות הארץ יטמן (שם).
60. קבל האמת ממי שאמר וקח הפנינים מן הים (שם, 31).
61. אין דבר שבעולם מועיל כמו החכמה (שם, 32).
62. אין דבר מגונה כסכלות בזקן (שם, 33).
63. חברת השוטה סכנה (שם, 148),³⁴
64. מי שיאמין אל הרכילים מסביב לא ישאר לו אוהב חביב (שם, שם, 35).
65. המדע אשר לא יעבור הנחל עמך לא יתיחש על שמך (שם, 36).
66. הזריו הטוב והנעים הוא הבוחר הפחות רע משני רעים (שם).
67. מי שיבחן העולם ימצאנו אויב בכסות אוהב לבוש (שם, 149).
68. הזמן עיט צבוע ותבל דומה לגשר רעוע (שם).
69. כמה פוגע ביום שלא ישלימהו (שם).
70. הסבל מעלה גדולה (שם).
71. אין לנגב טוב מן החבל ולשוטה טוב מן הכבל (שם).
72. הסבל הוא טוב שביועצים (שם, 37).

²⁹ A shorter version of this proverb is found in chap. 21, No. 268: הטובה שבהמות צריכה לשכט, והכשרה שבנשים צריכה לבעל, והרעתן שבאנשים: הטוב שבסוסים צריך לשוט, הנכור שבוטל לשוט, צריך לשאול עצה. ש.ב.א.ד.מ. צריך לחרב, והחכם שבחכמים צריך ליועץ.

³⁰ Identical with chap. xxvi, fol. 86a.

³¹ The two proverbs 59–60 are found in chap. xxvi, fol. 86a as follows:
קחה פנינים מן הים והוזהב מן העפר והחכמה ממי שלמדה.

³² Comp. chap. xxviii, fol. 92h: אין בעולם מועיל כחכמה.

³³ Comp. chap. i, No. 51: כמה מגונה הסכלות בזקן.

³⁴ Identical with chap. xx, No. 266.

³⁵ Comp. ibid. chap. 51, No. 609.

³⁶ Comp. p. 2: משה'פ. כל חכמה אשר לא תכנס עם בעלה במרחץ אינה חכמה.

³⁷ Identical with chap. ix, No. 143.

73. העונה טוב שבחברים ההרוצים (שם).³⁸
 74. העולם הזה והבא כשתי צרות האחד כשפחה והשני כנברת (שם).³⁹
 75. גירושי תבל הם נישואי עולם הבא (שם).⁴⁰
 76. התבל הטוב שבו מזוג (שם).
 77. הזמן ישלח חפשי הזבוב העלוב ויתן הנשר בכלוב (שם).⁴¹
 78. כל עריבי קול חסרי מוח (כ, 159).
 79. מחשבה פועלת (כ"ג, 180).
 80. כמה טובות צפונות במעי התלאות (כ"ד, 186).
 81. אילו היה העורב טוב לא נמלט מיד הצייד (שם).

If now we arrange these proverbs according to subjects, we find that they may be classified under the following headings:⁴²

אבות ובנים (2), אויל (29), אשה (5, 6, 7, 33, 35, 56), בחור וזקנה (44), בקשת האמת (60), בקשת החכמה (57, 59), גורל האדם (15, 16, 17, 18, 69), גול (27), גזרה (1), גנב (21, 71), דלות ועצלות (44), הוצאה (54), הכרח (24), הסתפקות (50), הסתפקות ועשירות (49), זקנה (55, 62), זקנה ומחלה (8, 44), זריות (66), חזון (78), חכמה (61, 65, 79), החשק (31, 32), כילי (9, 10, 51, 53), כסיל וחרוץ (47), כעס (45), מניה ספרים (11), מחילה ונקמה (13), מנהג (46), משכיל וכסיל (42), נחש (56), נסיון (40, 58), סבלנות (70, 72), סברה (22), עוה"ז ועוה"ב (74, 75), העולם ומקרו (3, 36, 67, 68, 77, 80), עושר (4, 28, 38, 39), ענוה (73), ענק וחבוב (19), ענק ופיל (37), עצה (56), צואר לבן וענק (30), צורך (20, 23), קנאה וחרטה (43), קנאה ושנאה (44), קדושה ופרישות (14), רכילות (44, 64), שוטה (63, 71), השירה (12), שמש וירח (34), השתיקה (25), תאוה (48, 52).

Of course, in a complete work on proverbs and aphorisms each of these subjects would contain many more items, but for the purpose of illustration I deem it sufficient to limit myself to the book under consideration.

³⁸ Comp. *ibid.* end of No. 143. The Hebrew text has טוב שבחברים instead of שבחברים, but the English translation is correct.

³⁹ Comp. *ibid.* chap. xiv, fol. 53b.

⁴⁰ Comp. *ibid.* *ibid.*

⁴¹ Comp. *ibid.* chap. v, fol. 20a הנשר בכלוב ויתן הזבוב.

⁴² The numbers in parenthesis refer to the numbers in the list.

IMPROVED READINGS IN THE *SIFRE*

LOUIS FINKELSTEIN

In the last volume of the proceedings of the Academy, I was given opportunity to present a discussion of the various texts of the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy which have been preserved.¹ I am happy to have the further opportunity in this volume, to give some examples of emendations and improved readings based on a comparison of these texts.

I. In § 84, (ed. Fr. 92a) we read, according to *editio princeps*:

א"ר יוסי הגלילי ראה עד היכן הגיע הכתוב לסוף
עובדי עבודה זרה ונתן להם ממשלה להעמיד
אפילו חמה ולבנה כוכבים ומזלות אל תשמע להם מפני
מה כי מנסה ה' אלהיכם אתכם לדעת הישכם אוהבים א"ר עקיבא חס ושלום
שלא יעמיד הקב"ה חמה ולבנה ומזלות לעובדי עבודה זרה הא אינו מדבר אלא
במי שהיו נביאי אמת בתחלה וחזרו להיות נביאי השקר.

The passage, particularly the spaced portion, is obviously difficult. For according to it, the Scripture (הכתוב) gives "power" to the idolaters. Such a confusion between Scripture and God is most unusual, if not unique. Moreover we should expect an expression like *לסוף דעתם של עובדי עבודה זרה* instead of the meaningless *לסוף עובדי עבודה זרה*. This is actually supplied by Elijah Gaon as an emendation, but without support of any manuscript records. Finally, what is meant by saying that "the Scripture gave the idolaters power to stop the sun, the moon, the stars, and the planets?" Where and when was the power given? Again R. Elijah Gaon suggests the substitution of *שאפי' מעמיד* for *לסוף עובדי עבודה זרה*. A similar emendation (*שאפי' מעמיד*)

¹ *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Sifre on Deuteronomy*, Proceedings, 1932-3, p. 3ff.

for (להעמיד אפילו) is suggested by Friedmann. And indeed, this change has some support in the manuscript sources² which read:

עד היכן הכ' סוף עובדי ע"ז ונתן להם ממשלה אפילו חמה וכו' ר
עד היכן הגיע הכתוב סוף עובדי ע"ז ונתן להם ממשלה שאם מעמידין
חמה וכו' א
עד היכן הגיע הכתוב סוף עובדי ע"ז ונתן להם ממשלה שאפילו מעמידין
לך חמה וכו' ה

עד היכן הגיע הכתוב סוף עובדי ע"ז ונתן להם ממשלה אפילו חמה וכו' ב

Yet the text remains unacceptable, for the phrase סוף עובדי ע"ז has no significance in the current texts and interpretations. The natural manner of expressing the idea of the copyists and commentators would have been:

² In the aforementioned article, p. 4ff, I listed the twenty-one texts on which the edition of the *Sifre* is based. To these has now been added through the kindness of D. S. Sassoon, Esq. of London, another text, containing a hitherto unknown commentary on the *Sifre*. It is found together with Commentary of R. Hillel, in Ms. Sassoon no. 598 (See Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 106). The following are the symbols for the texts cited in this article:

- א Ms. Acc. Or. 1928, 328, of Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.
- ב Ms. Neubauer 151 (Bodl. 150, Uri 119) of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- ג Ms. Oxford Heb. c. 10 (Genizah fragment, Neubauer-Cowley 2679, part 5).
- ה Citations of the *Sifre* in *Midrash Ha-Gadol* (I follow the text in Hoffmann's *Midrash Tannaim*).
- ז Glosses to the Lichtenstein edition (Radwill, 1820, bound together with *Sifre* on Numbers, Dyhernfurth, 1811). These glosses were taken from a manuscript commentary on the *Sifre*, which is probably the same as that from which the comments of R. Suleiman אוחנא were printed in the edition of Wilna, 1866.
- ט Citations of the *Sifre* in *Yalkut Shimoni*.
- י Ms. British Museum (Margoliouth 341, Add. 16,406).
- כ Ms. of *Midrash Hakamim* belonging to Professor V. Aptowitzer. (For a description of this source see article on Prolegomena, p. 16, note 12).
- ל Citations of the *Sifre* in a fragment of a lost Yemenite *Midrash* found in the State Library in Leningrad by Professor David Maggid.
- מ Cod. Merzbacher 97, (Staatsbibliothek, Frankfurt-am-Main) containing the commentary of R. Hillel on the *Sifre*.
- נ Cod. Assemani 32 in the Vatican Library.

א"ר יוסי הגלילי ראה עד היכן הגיע הכתוב שאפילו עובדי עבודה זרה מעמידים לך חמה ולבנה אל תשמע להם.

But a slight emendation gives us a reliable and significant text, and also makes the following words of R. Akiba meaningful. In the word ונתן, the *vav* has replaced an original *yod*, and the word should read נתן. The text should read:

א"ר יוסי הגלילי ראה עד היכן הגיע הכתוב סוף עובדי עבודה זרה ינתן להם ממשלה אפילו [על] חמה ולבנה כוכבים ומזלות אל תשמע להם.

"R. Jose the Galilean said, See what is implied in this verse. In the end power will be given to the idolaters even over the sun, the moon, the stars and the planets. Yet do ye not hearken unto them. Wherefore? Because it is written, for the Lord your God is trying to know whether you love Him with all your heart and all your soul. R. Akiba said, Heaven forbid that God should cause the sun, the moon, and the planets to stop for idolaters. The verse speaks only of such as were true prophets in the beginning and afterward became false prophets."

R. Jose the Galilean clearly took some of the Christian miracles seriously or at least addressed himself to such as believed in them. He warned them that the miracles, even if true, do not prove the new religion, for in allowing them to be performed God was only testing the Jews. R. Akiba, living in Judea, where Christianity was so much weaker, and resistance to it so much stronger, was able to deny the stories altogether.

This polemic of R. Jose the Galilean against Christianity is of a piece with what he says somewhat further, § 87 (Fr. 92b, line 15) ר' יוסי הגלילי אומר הרי זה דבר גנאי לישראל שאומות העולם אין מניחים מה שמסרו להם אבותיהם וישראל מניחים מה שמסרו להם אבותיהם והולכים ועובדים ע"ז.

The heathen cleave to their ancient traditions, while Jews, by turning Christians, forsake what their ancestors have handed down to them.

II. In § 144, (Fr. 103b, line 1) we read:

כי השחד יעור עיני חכמים אין יוצא ידי עולמו עוד עד שיוורוהו צדק בהוראתו, ויסלף דברי צדיקים אין יוצא ידי עולמו עד שידע מה מדבר.

R. Elijah of Wilna emends the text as follows:

אין יוצא מיד עולמו עד שיוורה טעות בהוראתו שיאמר על טהור טמא ועל

IV. At the end of § 238 (Fr. 118a, line 15) the following passage occurs in editio princeps:

לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו ואפילו לאחר זמן ת"ל כל ימיו הוא
לאחר זמן.

As usual the editors and commentators resorted to emendation to correct the text. R. Elijah Gaon simply omits the spaced portion. Friedmann reads in its place: ת"ל כל ימיו ולא לאחר זמן. But a study of the Mss. shows that this text is found only in ב ל ד i.e. the French sources. The other texts read as follows:

לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו ואפילו לאחר זמן משלחה הוא ליבם ר
לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו ואפילו לאחר זמן משלחה הוא ליבם א
לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו ואפילו לאחר זמן אבל משלחה הוא ליבם ה

While the baraita has no meaning in the form which it has according to א מ ר, it is obvious that that is more original than the simplified text of the *Midrash Ha-Gadol* (ד). A comparison of this baraita with the comment given below, § 245, on a similar verse, clarifies the whole matter. There we read: לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו, משלחה הוא ליבם which means simply, "he may not divorce her all his life, yet he may grant her a divorce to free her from the levirate marriage after his death."

In our passage we find two separate baraitot combined, as frequently happens in the *Sifre*. The one made the comment:

לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו, ואפילו לאחר זמן
the other, לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו, משלחה הוא ליבם

Combined into one, without any connective or reference to the rubric on which the second depends, they make nonsense. The difficulty led a copyist to "emend" the text, substituting for the original phrase the superfluous ולא לאחר זמן and this has come down in ב ל ד.

Absolute proof that the baraita is composite can be found in the *Midrash Ha-Gadol* to v. 29, below (*Midrash Tannaim* p. 144, l. 7) where the parallel passage to § 245, has both baraitot combined just as they are in *Sifre* § 238: לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו ואפילו לאחר זמן אבל משלחה הוא ליבם.

Clearly the writer of the text preserved in *Midrash Ha-Gadol* had the variant before him also there and therefore added it to his text.

V. In § 243, (Fr. 118b, 17), we read:

וּלְנַעֲרָה לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה דְּבַר, מִלְמַד שְׁפֹטָהּ הַכָּתוּב מִן הַמִּיתָה
מִיֵּין אֵף מִן הַקֶּרֶבֶן ת"ל חֹטֵאת מִיֵּין אֵף מִן הַמְּכֹת ת"ל מוֹת מִלְמַד שֶׁכֵּל
עוֹנֶשֶׁין שְׁבִתוּרָה פְּטוּרִים וּמִצִּילִים אוֹתָם בְּנַפְשָׁם.

The passage as it stands is quite meaningless. Friedmann's emendation of שְׁבִתוּרָה פְּטוּרִים שֶׁכֵּל into שְׁבִתוּרָה פְּטוּרִים though it has the support of the variants collected in the margin of the Lichtenstein edition, has no other support, and is in opposition to all the Mss. sources. Even if it were accepted the passage would still remain difficult. For its present reading would imply that קָרֵב is an עוֹנֶשׁ, a concept at variance with general rabbinic doctrine. Moreover it would be difficult to justify the juxtaposition of the statements שְׁבִתוּרָה פְּטוּרִים and בְּנַפְשָׁם.

A clue to the correct reading is given in the citation of the passage in the following Spanish sources: the Strictures of Nahmanides to the *Sefer Ha-Mizvot* of Maimonides שו"ר ה' *Maggid Mishneh* I, 5; and Res. of R. Isaac b. Sheshet Barfat, no. 171 (This last source was brought to my attention by my friend, Mr. Isaac Rivkind). All of these read:

שֶׁכֵּל אֲנוֹסִים [אֲנוֹסִים, מִגִּיד מִשְׁנָה] שְׁבִתוּרָה פְּטוּרִים
שֶׁכֵּל עוֹנֶשִׁים שְׁבִתוּרָה פְּטוּרִים
instead of

In addition מִלְמַד שֶׁכֵּל עוֹנֶשִׁים וְכו' add before אֵף מִן הַקֶּרֶבֶן
כִּי כֹאֲשֶׁר יָקוּם אִישׁ עַל רַעְהוֹ וְרָצָחוֹ נֶפֶשׁ

A comparison of these texts shows that the original read:
וּלְנַעֲרָה לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה דְּבַר, מִלְמַד שְׁפֹטָהּ הַכָּתוּב מִן הַמִּיתָה.
מִיֵּין אֵף מִן הַקֶּרֶבֶן ת"ל חֹטֵאת. מִיֵּין אֵף מִן הַמְּכֹת ת"ל מוֹת. כִּי כֹאֲשֶׁר
יָקוּם אִישׁ עַל רַעְהוֹ וְרָצָחוֹ נֶפֶשׁ, מִלְמַד שֶׁכֵּל אֲנוֹסִים שְׁבִתוּרָה
פְּטוּרִים וּמִצִּילִים אוֹתָם בְּנַפְשָׁם.

The copyists, not realizing that the *baraita* beginning with כִּי כֹאֲשֶׁר יָקוּם refers to the words מִלְמַד שֶׁכֵּל אֲנוֹסִים וְכו' and is not a continuation of what went before, changed אֲנוֹסִים into עוֹנֶשִׁים, and then omitted the rubric נֶפֶשׁ . . . כִּי thus producing the confusion of our present texts.

It is not necessary to add that אֲנוֹסִים is used here only of sex crimes and not of general compulsion to transgress the law.

VI. In 256 (Fr. 120b, 19) we read:

וְכָבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, בִּיאַת שְׁמֹשׁ מַעֲכַתּוֹ מְלִיכָנָס לְפָנִים מִן הַמַּחֲנֶה.

This remark, as it stands, adds nothing to the biblical statement. But an examination of the manuscript sources shows that it is incomplete, although it is found in many sources. Several Mss., namely ר פ מ ג, read more fully:

וְכָבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, בִּיאַת שְׁמֹשׁ מַעֲכַתּוֹ מְלִיכָנָס לְפָנִים מִן הַמַּחֲנֶה וְאֵין זִיבְתּוֹ מַעֲכַתּוֹ מְלִיכָנָס לְפָנִים מִן הַמַּחֲנֶה.

But the *baraita* in this form cannot be explained, for a זב is surely prohibited from "entering within the camp." This difficulty is doubtless responsible for the omission of the statement in most of the sources. But the slight emendation of substituting ח for ת in the word זִיבְתּוֹ gives the true meaning of the passage.

בִּיאַת שְׁמֹשׁ מַעֲכַתּוֹ מְלִיכָנָס לְפָנִים מִן הַמַּחֲנֶה וְאֵין זָבָחוֹ מַעֲכַתּוֹ מְלִיכָנָס לְפָנִים מִן הַמַּחֲנֶה.

"The setting of the sun prevents the impure man from coming within the camp, but the sacrifice which he must offer does not prevent his return to camp." In other words a מחוסר כפרה may come "within the camp."³ Since in the parent Ms. of our *Sifre* texts the word זבֹּחַ was usually written *plene* זִיבְחָ (see example immediately following) it was natural that זָבָחוֹ should be misread זִיבְתּוֹ.⁴

VII. In § 261 (Fr. 121, l. 20) we read:

אִיזְהוּ מַחֲרִיר כָּלֵב הָאוֹמֵר לַחֲבִירוֹ הִלֵּךְ טָלָה זֶה תַּחַת כָּלֵב זֶה מַחֲרִיר יִכּוֹל אֶפִּילוֹ הָעֵבִירָו בְּרִגְלוֹ לַעֲזֹרָה יִהְיֶה חַיִּיב תִּלְמֹד לֹמֵר כִּי תוֹעֵבָה נֹאמֵר כֹּאן תוֹעֵבָה וְנֹאמֵר לַהֲלֵן תוֹעֵבָה (דְּבָרִים י"ז) מֵה תוֹעֵבָה הָאוֹמֵרָה לַהֲלֵן בֶּשֶׁם זֹבֵחַ אֵף תוֹעֵבָה הָאוֹמֵרָה כֹּאן בֶּשֶׁם זֹבֵחַ.

The last phrase offers difficulties, for how does the requirement that a sacrifice must be offered in the name of its giver, affect the fact that a מחיר כלב may be permitted to pass through the Temple court when a sacrifice is not intended? R. Elijah Gaon emends זֹבֵחַ בֶּשֶׁם into בִּזְבֹּחַ which gives a better meaning, but cannot be defended logically. For how could בִּזְבֹּחַ have been changed into זֹבֵחַ בֶּשֶׁם?

³ See Mishna *Kelim* 1, 7.

⁴ Compare also below, under example X.

The solution to the difficulty is simple if we bear in mind, that in the Ms. from which all our texts of the *Sifre* ultimately derive most of the words were written *plene*, and also that *yod* is easily interchanged with a *vav*. The word זובה originally read זיבה which was the full spelling for זבה; the meaning of the last passage is therefore, "Just as the word חועבה is there used of an animal intended for a sacrifice, so it is here used only of an animal intended as sacrifice."

VIII. In § 290, (Fr. 126a, line 9) we read:

וּדְבָרוֹ אֵלָיו דְּבָרִים הַגּוֹנִים מֵהַ הַגּוֹנִים שֶׁאֵם הִיא הוּא יֵלֵד וְהִיא זָקְנָה
הוּא זָקֵן וְהִיא יֹלְדָה וְעַמֵּד וְאָמַר שִׁישְׁאָנָה לוֹ כִּלְךְ אֶצֶל כְּמוֹתְךָ אֹמֵר לוֹ.
The question and answer form דְּבָרִים הַגּוֹנִים מֵהַ הַגּוֹנִים is unusual in tannaitic *midrashim*, and R. Elijah Gaon therefore proposes to omit the words מה הגונים. But a comparison of the other sources shows that this emendation is unnecessary and that our text arose only from the desire of the copyist to make the text of the *Sifre* correspond to that of the Mishna.⁵ The texts read:

וּדְבָרוֹ אֵלָיו בְּהוֹנֵת לוֹ שֶׁאֵם הִיא הוּא יֵלֵד וְהִיא זָקְנָה הוּא זָקֵן וְהִיא יֹלְדָה
אֹמְרִים לוֹ כִּלְךְ אֶצֶל כְּמוֹתְךָ רַמְּ [בֶּרֶךְ ח' אֹמְרִים . . . כְּמוֹתְךָ]
וּדְבָרוֹ אֵלָיו עֲצָה הוֹנֵת לוֹ שֶׁאֵם . . . כְּמוֹתְךָ א
וּדְבָרוֹ אֵלָיו שְׁמִשְׁמִין לוֹ עֲצָה הוֹנֵת לוֹ שֶׁאֵם . . . כְּמוֹתְךָ ה
וּדְבָרוֹ אֵלָיו בְּהוֹנֵת לוֹ מֵהַ הוֹנֵת שֶׁאֵם . . . יֹלְדָה וְעַמֵּד וְאָמַר אִשְׁיָנָה אֹמְרִים
לוֹ כִּלְךְ אֶצֶל כְּמוֹתְךָ ל
וּדְבָרוֹ אֵלָיו שְׁמִשְׁמִין לוֹ עֲצָה הוֹנֵת לוֹ מֵהַ הוֹנֵת לוֹ שֶׁאֵם . . . יֹלְדָה וְאָמַר
שִׁישְׁאָנָה אֹמְרִים לוֹ כִּלְךְ אֶצֶל כְּמוֹתְךָ ב

Clearly the reading of לוֹ בְּהוֹנֵת is the original. But the word לוֹ here refers to the widow who is to be taken in levirate marriage, while the Mishna uses the word הַגּוֹנִים of the words spoken to the levir. The copyists remembering the Mishna, make every effort to change the text of the *Sifre* to conform to it, or at least to use the word הוֹנֵת in the same sense. Hence the confusion in all the texts.

IX. At the beginning of § 307 (Fr. 132b, line 35) occurs the following passage

הַצּוֹר תַּמִּים פַּעַל ל, הַצִּיר שְׁהוּא צָר הָעוֹלָם תַּחֲלָה וְצָר בּוֹ אֵת

⁵ *Yebamot* 12, 6.

האדם שנאמר וייצר ה' אלהים את האדם. תמים פעלו,
פעולתו שלמה על כל באי העולם ואין להרהר אחר מדותיו אפילו שנה
של כלום.

The expression שנה של כלום is of course meaningless and impossible. A little later it occurs (Fr. 133a, line 3) in the form עונה של כלום which is similarly without meaning. R. Elijah Gaon accepting the word שנה as approximately correct, emends it to שינוי. Friedmann, following a suggestion on the margin of the Lichtenstein edition, reads עולה. But a Genizah fragment (4ג) and the Berlin Ms. (א) offer the obviously correct reading: עילה של כלום "No one can find the slightest complaint against God's ways."

X. In § 321, (137b, line 16) we read:

וקטב מרירי, לפי דרכנו אתה למד שמי שהשר בו מודד.

The spaced word, which has no meaning in this context, is emended by R. Elijah Gaon to read מורר, presumably meaning "becomes bitter." Friedmann reads: מרירי.

The texts offer the following readings:

מורר ב ל
מורר ט ז
מוריד א מ
הוא מיריר ה

The text of *Midrash Ha-Gadol* (ה) is the correct one, but its meaning remains obscure till we recall the habit of the early copyists to insert a *yod* where it would not occur to us to do so. The word מיריר is thus really מריר and means simply "spits." The passage refers to the unclean habits of the insane, permitting their spittle to flow down their chins and beards (cf. I Samuel 21,14).

HEBREW NUMERALS

SOLOMON GANDZ

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I. Introduction.

§ 1. Three Phases in the Development of Numerical Notation

In the history of writing two main phases are distinguished, the *pictorial ideograms* and the *conventional phonograms*. The ideograms were originally rude depictions of visible things, actual representations of the objects by pictures. Later on these pictures were also used as symbols to suggest abstract ideas. Still later the *phonograms* originated. These are *conventional* graphic symbols of sound, standing either for entire words, or for syllables and letters. The alphabetic letters, representing the elementary sounds into which the words and syllables can be resolved, form the culmination in the phonographic system.¹

The development of the numerals goes, originally, hand in hand with the history of writing. The first numerals are *pictorial ideograms* which may also be called *numerograms*. These primitive numerals consist out of single strokes for the units, and some other marks, like the horizontal bar, the Egyptian standing hoop or the Babylonian angle-hook, for the tens.² They are rude pictures of numbers or quantities, trying to represent by imitation the number work of primitive people which was mechanical and "palpable, merely a matter of placing sticks or cowries or pebbles on the ground, of marking a sand-covered board, or of cutting notches or tying cords,"³ or of holding up the fingers. Into this class belong the Egyptian, Babylonian, Phoenician, Aramaic, Kharoṣṭhī and Roman numerals. The next stage is formed by the phonographic numerals which appear as written number words in all the languages, gradually and slowly crowding out and substituting the pictorial numerograms.⁴ So far the develop-

¹ See Taylor, *The Alphabet*, I, p. 5-6; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., I, p. 677; XVII, p. 913.

² See §8 and the table of numerals in §9.

³ Smith-Karpinski, *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, p. 18.

⁴ As a matter of fact, however, it may be noted that the primitive numerical ideograms survived much longer than the other ideograms, overlapping into

ment of numerical notation went hand in hand with the development of writing. Soon, however, the numerals began to play a great part in the daily needs of life, and the law of economy made it necessary to invent stenographic numerals. First the initial numerals arose, by using the initial letters of the number words instead of the number words themselves. Then the alphabetic numerals came into being, and finally the system of the Hindu-Arabic numerals was developed. Thus the phonographic stage was abandoned and the numerals reverted to the ideographic stage. The alphabetic numerals and the various forms of the Hindu-Arabic symbols are, essentially,⁵ no more representations of the number words but of the number conceptions. However, these later ideograms are no more pictorial imitations but rather conventional symbols of the numbers. Hence we may speak of the following three phases in the history of the numerals: I. Pictorial ideograms. II. Phonograms. III. Conventional, symbolic ideograms. Thus the phonograms, numeral words, are preceded and followed by ideograms, special numeral symbols. But even at the time of their prevalence, the phonograms are usual only in literary documents, where they survived up to the present day. For other purposes, as in the documents of commerce and trade, or of administration and education, ideographic numerals are always preferred, for the sake of economy and clarity.

the stage of alphabetic writing. Apparently there was a general tendency to distinguish numbers by particular symbols, which, later, caused the rise of the various forms of numerals; cf. Cantor, I, p. 14. Another reason for the longer preservation of the primitive numerals may be that they served as a good means of demonstrating the number concept, thus facilitating the operations of addition and subtraction. Everybody could easily see that || and |||, like two and three counters on the abacus, give five strokes || |||.

⁵ Originally the alphabetic and the Hindu symbols, like the initial numerals, must have been thought of as mere abbreviations, stenographic symbols, of the number words. Psychologically, even today, we associate our numerals with the number words and not with the number conceptions. But essentially they have no more relation to the number words than to the number conceptions. Hence we might as well regard them as direct symbols of the number conceptions.

II. Hebrew-Aramaic Numerals of the Primitive Stage

§2. The Problem. Fifteen Centuries Without Numerals

It is customary to begin the history of Hebrew notation with the alphabetic numerals of which it is generally believed that they first occur on the Hasmonean coins (c. 139 B.C.).⁶ In the following⁷ it will be shown that the first documentary evidence for the alphabetic numerals proper is to be found only in the Gematria. Proved instances of the Gematria, however, occur only in literary works of the beginning of the second century of our era. Now the history and civilization of the Hebrews begins about 1400 B.C., and we are confronted by the problem of a highly developed civilization remaining for fifteen centuries without a system of special numeral characters other than the plain numeral words. During this time the Hebrews had entertained close relations, political, commercial and literary, with the Babylonians and Egyptians, with the Phoenicians and Aramaeans, with the Greeks and Romans; during this time the Hebrews founded two kingdoms with an organized government, with taxation and administration; they had a rich literature, trade and commerce, weights and measures. Is it possible that they remained without numerals at all?

Caspar Levias, the learned philologist and author of the article "Numbers and Numerals" in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*⁸ was the first to formulate this problem, and he reached the conclusion that the alphabetic numerals, which are proven to have existed in later times, must also have been used in earlier times. He says: "That there were in Israel no numerical signs at all is hardly possible. The necessities of daily life require such signs, and the example of the surrounding nations could not but have suggested their introduction. For an assumption that there were special signs there is no basis. It must, therefore, be assumed that the numerical value of the alphabet was known in earlier

⁶ *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, IX, p. 348; Cantor, I, p. 125; Smith, *History*, II, p. 53.

⁷ See §§14, 15.

⁸ IX, p. 348.

times. The fact that figures are not found in the Bible nor in the Siloam inscription, nor on the Moabite stone, would not militate against such an assumption. In monumental inscriptions the use of figures might have been avoided for various reasons, while the earlier use of figures in the Bible is rather probable, since the discrepancies in numbers which now exist can thus be best explained."

§3. A Reference to Numerals in Isaiah

The writer does not share the belief of Levias with regard to the existence of alphabetic numerals in old Israel. But he does believe, in agreement with Levias, that the ancient Hebrews must have had some numerals. He further believes that there is a basis for the assumption that these were ideographic numerals of the primitive type. This basis is to be found (1) in a passage of the Prophet Isaiah that clearly indicates a familiarity with and a reference to ideographic numerals, and (2) in the new finds of actual Hebrew numerals in ancient Hebrew documents.

Isaiah, 10, 19, says: "And the remnant of the trees of his forest shall be a number⁹ that a young boy may write them down." This implies that the young schoolboy does have the knowledge

⁹ This means a few. Large numbers are usually described in the Bible as having no number, because large numbers were not generally known. If there is a number for them, this means, they are only few. In a story quoted by E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, I, p. 199-200, we are told that at the time of the conquest of Persia by the Arabs (c. 640) an Arab got for a great ruby the sum of 1000 dirham. Afterwards his comrades reproached him, saying: Why did not you ask more for it? The answer was: If I had known of any number greater than a thousand, I would have demanded it. Of an army of perhaps a few thousand the Bible says: "The Midianites lay in the valley like the locusts for multitude and their camels were without number as the sand upon the sea-shore" (*Judges*, 7, 12). The sand and the stars, of course, cannot be counted by man. The Lord, however, "counts the stars with a number and even calls them by their names" (*Psalms*, 147, 4; *Isaiah*, 40, 26). The earliest Delphic oracle commences: "I know the number of the sand and the measures of the sea." Later on, Archimedes (d. 212 B. C.) counts the sand of the universe, the mathematicians of the Talmud count the drops of the Ocean and Buddha counts similar things up to 10⁸³, or even 10⁴²⁵; see Smith-Karpinski, p. 15-17; Gandz, *The Mishnat ha Middot*, p. 11, note 26.

of writing but that he is able to write down only small numbers. Now, if the prophet would think of number words, there is no more difficulty in writing *thousand*, 'eleph, than in writing *ten*, 'asarah. There is no special difficulty even in writing *ten thousand* or a *hundred thousand*, 'aseret 'alaphim or me'at 'eleph. But if we are to write the numbers in primitive or in any other numerals, then, of course, the difficulty rises with the growth of the numbers. Isaiah, therefore, must have thought only of such numerals.

This is also the opinion of the Talmud, quoting the oldest Amoras, Rab (c. 200) and his disciple Eleazar, who explain the verse as speaking of the alphabetic numerals. Rab says that there remained ten, since the easiest numeral for a boy to write is a *yod*, a small stroke (י), while Eleazar thinks that it is a *wāw*, a large stroke (ו), and that there remained six.¹⁰ Those Amoras, of course, referred to the alphabetic numerals that were usual in their time and to the form of the letters *wāw* and *yod* that was usual in their time. There is some anachronism in that explanation, as in the time of Isaiah (c. 700 B. C.) the Hebrews used the old Phoenician script, in which the *wāw* and *yod* were not plain strokes, and most probably did not use the alphabetic but the Phoenician or Aramaic numerals, that did have the form of simple strokes. Essentially, however, the explanation of the Talmud is right in referring the difficulty to the writing of large numerals. In this regard most of the modern commentaries agree with the Rabbis of the Talmud.¹¹ Thus Delitzsch, in the third edition of his commentary, says: "Ein Knabe wuerde ihre Ziffer zusammenrechnen und aufschreiben koennen." Proksch¹²

¹⁰ See *Petīḥah* to 'Eikhah Rabbah, §30 ונער עשרה שנה, שכן דרכו של נער להיות יכחבם, שכן דרכו של נער להיות כוחב י'ד. ר' אלעזר אומר ששה, שורט שרישה. The same reading is also in 'Eikhah Rabbah, IV, 15, and in *Midrash Tehillim*, Psalm 79, ed. Buber, f. 180a. A somewhat different reading is in *Sanhedrin*, 95b, and in *Yalqut* to II Kings, 19, §241.

¹¹ Dillmann in his commentary makes an exception. Referring to *Judges*, 8, 14, telling of the young man who wrote down for Gideon the princes and elders of Sukkot, seventy and seven men, Dillmann explains the verse in *Isaiah*, too, that the boy will be able to prepare a list of them, write down their names. But there is no foundation for Dillmann's conception. The reference in *Isaiah* is plainly to numbers only and not to names.

¹² Commentary, 1930, p. 170.

remarks: "Ein Knabe, der auf seiner Tafel nur Striche machen kann, vermag sie zusammenzurechnen." Interesting is the remark of Naegelsbach:¹³ "The figure of a boy writing down the trees, seems to me remarkable in respect to the history of culture. We hear of a boy that can write, like *Judges*, 8, 14, and that counts the trees. Is the figure pure invention of the Prophet? or was he brought to use it from observation?" Very probably, the writer thinks, from observation. Already in the time of king Solomon (c. 1000 B. C.) cedar and cypress trees were shipped from the Lebanon to Jerusalem.¹⁴ They certainly had to be counted and accounted for. The average boy was unable to count all the trees of a big forest. But if there remained only a few trees, then they had a "number," the average worker was able to count them and to write down the number.

§4. Hebrew Numerals on the Samaritan Ostraca (c. 800 B. C.)

Fortunately we are now in a position to corroborate the hypothesis suggested above by some facts and documents. In the years 1908-10 a Harvard expedition made excavations in Samaria and discovered the debris of an ancient Israelite palace which was generally identified as the palace erected by king Aḥab (875-853 B. C.). Among the debris of the structure a number of potsherds exhibiting old Hebrew inscriptions, written with the ordinary carbon ink and in the alphabet of the old Mesha-stone (c. 875 B. C.), were found. On epigraphical as well as on other archaeological grounds, these ostraca were assigned to the 8th or 9th century B. C. and characterized as objects likely to be found on the floor of the palace of king Aḥab, occupied about 865 to 722 B. C.¹⁵ These ostraca, which in all likelihood were serving as receipts or records for deliveries in kind, as wine and oil, display also a few numerals as reproduced

¹³ See the English translation of his commentary by Lowrie-Moore, p. 155.

¹⁴ I *Kings*, 5, 20-22.

¹⁵ See Reisner, Fisher and Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, Cambridge, 1924, I, pp. 227-246.

on table II. One and two are written in the well known primitive strokes. Nine and ten are always written in number words בשת העשרת, בשת החשע, "in the year nine, in the year ten." Then we have the numerals which occur several times in the nos. 22-61 and are generally explained as 15.¹⁶ The symbol for ten is identical with the hieratic numeral ten, and occurs also in other Semitic inscriptions, and the symbol for 5 resembles the hieratic numeral for 5.¹⁷ Apparently, the Hebrew writer changed it into the sign which was familiar to him as the letter *gimel*.¹⁸ Finally, ostracon no. 63 shows the numeral which is explained by Reisner as 17,¹⁹ and by Noth²⁰ as an unfortunate slip of the pen. Dussaud believes it to be 13,²¹ and Jirku²² conjectures that it is 9, i. e. 4+3+2. Thus the symbol t would be according to Reisner 5, according to Dussaud 1, according to Jirku 3, and according to Noth a cancelled sign or an error of the pen. The writer regards the conjectures of Dussaud and Jirku as less probable than the other ones. He would also like to point out a certain similarity with the symbol used in the Indian cave inscriptions for 4.²³ without venturing to suggest the identity of the two symbols. The writer frankly confesses his ignorance with regard to this symbol.

On the whole, the discussion of these numerals as given by

¹⁶ See Reisner, *loc. cit.*, p. 232; Noth in *ZDPV*, vol. 50, 1927, p. 242-3. Dussaud, in *Syria*, VII, 1926, p. 24, interprets them as 10+1, and Jirku, *OLZ*, vol. 28, 1925, p. 279, sees in the first the numeral 4 and in the second the numeral 5; hence 4+5=9. However, the theories of both, Dussaud and Jirku, seem to have no foundation.

¹⁷ See G. Moeller, *Hieratische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1927, I, p. 59-60; II, p. 55-56; III, p. 60. Cf. also hereafter, p. 61, 67.

¹⁸ The resemblance between the sign used for the *gimel* and that used for the numeral 5 is very great. Hence Reisner, *loc. cit.*, p. 237-8, discussing the ostracon no. 57, doubts whether the last symbol is the letter *gimel* or the numeral 5.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 238, 243.

²⁰ *ZDPV*, vol. 50, p. 219, note.

²¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

²² *Loc. cit.*, p. 279.

²³ See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., under *Numerals*, vol. 19, p. 867, table II.

Noth²⁴ seems to be very plausible, except for his contention that the numerals are undoubtedly of Egyptian origin, and prove the prevalence of Egyptian influence in Israel at that time. It is true, the symbol for ten is found in the Hieratic writings, forming a somewhat angular variation of the standing hoof in the hieroglyphs. Yet the same sign appears to be of common Semitic origin, as we find it also in Phoenician, old Aramaic, and especially in Nabataean inscriptions, in which latter documents it is the general rule.²⁵ Similarly, the Nabataean numeral for 5, may be regarded as a variation of the old Hebrew symbol, which received an additional stroke.²⁶ The Nabataeans were a people of ancient Arabia, whose settlements gave the name of Nabatene to the border-land between Syria and Arabia from the Euphrates to the Red sea. They were Arabs who came under Aramaic influence. Aramaic continued to be the language of their coins and inscriptions.²⁷ Though their history cannot be carried back beyond 312 B. C., they must be regarded as continuing the old Aramaic traditions. The same symbols appear also among the Syriac numerals, except that their values are reversed. The numeral ten, in a horizontal form stands for 5, while the numeral 5 is the Syriac symbol for ten.²⁸ The writer's opinion, therefore, is that the Hebrew numerals on the Samaritan ostraca represent rather a variation of the old Aramaic numerals and an example of the early influence of the Aramaeans. In last line these Aramaic numerals may perhaps have their origin in Egypt. But in the time of 1000-722 B. C. Israel had much closer relations with the Aramaeans than with Egypt.²⁹ To Aramaic influence point also the Hebrew numerals found in the later documents.

²⁴ ZDPV, vol. 50, 1927, pp. 240-44. The article was kindly called to the writer's attention by Professor Shalom Spiegel.

²⁵ See the appended table I, on p. 72-73; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, II, table XLVI, 2, at the end of the volume; J. Euting, *Nabataeische Inschriften*, pp. 96-97.

²⁶ See hereafter, p. 67.

²⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., XVI, p. 56; 11th ed., XIX, p. 146; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, IX, p. 139.

²⁸ See Euting, *loc. cit.*, and *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., XIX, p. 866.

²⁹ See hereafter, §7.

§5. The Aramaic Papyri and their Numerals

At the beginning of the 20th century a large number of Aramaic papyri were discovered in the island Elephantine and in the town of Assuan³⁰ facing the island on the east bank of the Nile, in the southernmost part of Egypt. Most of the papyri are dated, reaching from 495 to 404 B. C., and the undated ones go down to 300 B. C. the latest. They were all written by Hebrews forming a military colony to defend this southern boundary of Egypt and settled there by the Egyptian kings before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 523 B. C. The Hebrews were retained by the Persian conquerors as a Persian colony. These papyri contain a complete system of primitive numerals³¹ closely resembling the Phoenician numerals. We call them here the Hebrew-Aramaic numerals, since they are found in Aramaic documents written by Hebrews. Hence they are Aramaic numerals adopted by the Hebrews who also adopted the Aramaic language and script.

As a further bit of evidence for the use of Aramaic numerals by Hebrews a Hebrew inscription may be quoted that was found in the necropolis of Alexandria and that belongs to the time of 300–200 B. C.³² It contains signs which can only be interpreted as the numerals 20 and 1000, as Lidzbarski thinks, or 100, as the writer thinks.

The objection may be made that these documents prove only that the Egyptian Hebrews adopted the Aramaic numerals with the Aramaic language and script in c. 500 B. C. It is true that these colonists came to Egypt before 523 and probably also before the exile (586 B. C.).³³ But this does not necessarily mean that they brought with them this script from Palestine. It is quite possible that they learned Aramaic while in Egypt, using it especially for the correspondence with the Persian government whose official language was Aramaic. This is readily admitted.

³⁰ Greek *Syene*, Hebrew *Sweneh*, Aramaic *Yeb*, Arabic *Aswan*.

³¹ See the table I in §9. For literature see A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, Oxford, 1923, and the bibliography *ib.*, pp. VIII–X.

³² Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III, pp. 49–50, and hereafter, §9, table II.

³³ The general opinion is that the Hebrews settled in Egypt under Psammetichus I (664–610 B. C.).

But the main thing for us is the fact that the Aramaeans used the Phoenician or similar numerals, and that those numerals were adopted by the Hebrews together with the Aramaic language and script.

§6. The Aramaeans and the Spread of their Language

Originally the Hebrews adopted the Phoenician language and script. Since 1000 B. C., however, the political and commercial relations between Israel and the Aramaeans became very intimate. The Aramaeans frequently interfered in the conflict between the two rival kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and as early as 875 they opened bazaars in Samaria and entertained there mercantile colonies. Later on king Aḥab was promised by Ben Hadad the right to open bazaars in Damascus.³⁴ It is therefore only natural to expect that the Hebrews became acquainted with the Aramaic language and script and also with the Aramaic numerals. From the eighth century onwards there are Assyrian weights that display Aramaic inscriptions besides the Assyrian ones. Around 700 B. C. Aramaic was already the international language of commerce and of the diplomatic intercourse in Western Asia and in the whole Babylonian empire. Assyrian documents of the seventh century report about official Aramaean scribes at the royal court.

The Aramaeans first came to Assyria as captives of war at c. 878 B. C.³⁵ Since then the number of the Aramaean captives in Assyria continually increased with the frequent wars. In the course of the time the Aramaeans gained great importance as merchants, soldiers and officials. Finally the conquest of Syria by Tiglath-Pileser III (c. 732 B. C.) established their power and influence in the Assyrian empire. Soon the Aramaean merchants became the leaders in business life and their tongue became the international language which it continued to be even under the

³⁴ Cf. II Samuel, chaps. VIII and X; I Kings XI, 24–25; XV, 18–20; XX, 34; A. Šanda, *Die Aramaeer*, p. 9ff, in *Der Alte Orient*, IV, 1903. Concerning the Aramaeans in general see also *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, III, pp. 107–23, and the literature quoted *ibid*.

³⁵ See *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, III, p. 110–111.

Persian empire. Around 700 B. C. this state of affairs is demonstrated by the famous negotiation between Rabshakeh, the Babylonian general besieging Jerusalem, and the Hebrew officials.³⁶ We learn that these latter ones, belonging to the educated class, understood Aramaic as well as Rabshakeh. The common people of the Hebrews, however, understood only Hebrew. After the exile quite the opposite was the case. The lower classes spoke and understood only Aramaic. They could not afford the luxury of mastering two languages. So they forgot the old Hebrew that was no more spoken. The educated classes still continued to study and cultivate the old Hebrew as a sacred tongue. It would have been a strange case indeed, if the Hebrews in Palestine, who first used the Phoenician and then the Aramaic tongue and script, should have persistently and stubbornly refused to learn and adopt those simple numerical signs employed by both Phoenicians and Aramaeans, while the Hebrews living in Egypt, who as mercenaries and military colonists certainly represented the lower and less educated class of the nation, have commonly and readily adopted them. Prophet Isaiah certainly belonged to those educated people that in 700 understood Aramaic as well as Hebrew. In speaking of the numerals by which it is hard to write down large numbers, he doubtless had in mind numerals of the type that occurs on the Samaritan ostraca or in the Aramaic papyri.

§7. Hebrew Numerals on the Ossuaries of the First Century A. D.

A further specimen of Hebrew numerals representing another variation of the familiar Aramaic symbols belongs to the beginning of our era. In the year 1910 a tomb was laid bare in Bethphage, on the east slope of the Mountain of Olives near Jerusalem, where several ossuaries were found. Two covers of these ossuaries show on the inner side Hebrew graffiti giving a list of persons. The one of the covers remained in Jerusalem

³⁶ II *Kings*, 18, 26; *Isaiah*, 36, 11.

and was described by Orfali,³⁷ the other cover came to the Museum of the Louvre at Paris, and its graffiti were deciphered and published by Dussaud,³⁸ Dussaud discovered that the signs after the personal names are Hebrew numerals, and suggested that the graffiti, belonging approximately to the first century A. D., give a record of payments made to laborers,³⁹ the amount of which is indicated by the numerals. He further intimated that on the cover remaining in Jerusalem and described by Orfali as containing a similar list of persons the last word on each line, read by Orfali as יב, is in reality also a group of numerals. The symbol for 20 is indeed still clearly to be recognized on the photostat of the Jerusalem cover, as published by Orfali.⁴⁰ Dussaud's theory was confirmed by M. Lidzbarski, the master of Semitic epigraphy, who only corrected a few details of Dussaud's readings. Lidzbarski's report⁴¹ reads in part: "Fuer die Zahlen sind Ziffern verwandt. Die Juden haben weder in frueherer noch in spaeterer Zeit Ziffern als Zahlzeichen verwandt; wir finden sie hier nur vereinzelt, und sie waren nur voruebergehend in Gebrauch. Sie koennen an sich von den Phoeniziern wie von den Aramaeern entlehnt sein. Die Phoenizier hatten kein besonderes Zeichen fuer 5, dagegen findet man es schon frueh bei den Aramaeern, siehe die Zahlentafel in *Nordsemitischer Epigraphik*, Tafel XLVI. Ich habe erwogen, ob das von Dussaudt fuer 20 gehaltene Zeichen, das wie 𐤔 aussieht, nicht 5 sein koennte, zumal sich dahinter nur Zahlen unter 5 finden, aber in Zeilen 7, 13 findet sich

³⁷ In *Revue Biblique*, vol. 32, 1923, pp. 253-60.

³⁸ *Syria*, IV, 1923, pp. 241-44.

³⁹ Lidzbarski, quoted hereafter, note 41, questions the interpretation by Dussaud of the signs in the beginning of each line as a *lamed*. According to him, the list would refer to payments made by persons.

⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.* The list of the numerals of each line of the cover extant at the Louvre, as reproduced by Dussaud with free hand, is given in the appended table of Hebrew numerals on p. 72-73. So far these are the only Hebrew numerals on ossuaries known to the writer. The Jewish Palestinian inscriptions published by S. Klein in his *Juedisch-palaestinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, Wien-Berlin, 1920, containing inscriptions on ossuaries, tombs and synagogues, display no Hebrew numerals. Greek alphabetic numerals are there, on p. 52, no. 158, and Hebrew number words, on p. 85, note 2.

⁴¹ In the *Nachrichten der koeniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen*, phil. historische Klasse, 1923, Heft 2, p. 105.

ein Zeichen, das der nabataeischen 5 ähnlich sieht und wohl auch diesen Wert hat. Am Ende der Zahlen steht in Zeilen 4, 10 ein Zeichen, das dem Pē ähnlich sieht (siehe besonders Zeile 16). Dussaud haelt es fuer eine 2; das ist unmoeglich. Die 2 kann nicht rechts einen langen und links einen kurzen Strich haben. Es ist ein Sigle fuer $\frac{1}{2}$; ף als Abkuerzung von פל. Es findet sich so auch in dem in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1907, p. 260ff, mitgeteilten Papyrus und auf dem Ostrakon *Ephemeris*, III, p. 25. Im Hebraeischen oder Phoenizischen beginnt das Wort fuer halb nicht mit פ wie im Aramaeischen. Daher ist auch diese Sigle den Aramaeern entlehnt."

To this discussion of the numerals by Lidzbarski the writer wishes to remark: (1) In first line it must be noted that Lidzbarski, reporting in 1923, did not yet know of the Hebrew numerals found on the Samaritan ostraca, which were not published before 1924. On the other hand it seems that he did not regard the numerals used by the Hebrews of Elephantine as Hebrew, but as Aramaic numerals, or rather that the Hebrews of Elephantine were not regarded by him as full Jews. Hence he says that the Jews never before used any special numerical signs, and that the occurrence of numerals on the ossuary is an isolated, sporadic fact. The writer, however, sees in the Hebrew numerals a lasting institution, though varying in form. Science, in general, abhors isolated, sporadic phenomena. Its task is to bring all data into a class and system, under a general law. The rise of special numerical symbols in a certain stage of civilization may be regarded as a general law of history. The very notion, however, that the Hebrews never made use of any numerals would be such a strange isolated fact, contradicting all other historical experience, that it appears highly improbable.⁴² The more readily are we inclined to interpret the new finds in conformity with the general law of history.

(2) As to the origin of the ossuary-numerals, Lidzbarski first says that "an sich" they may have been borrowed from the Phoenicians as well as from the Aramaeans. "An sich" obviously means: on general historical grounds, without regard to the

⁴² See above, p. 54, note 4, and p. 56.

specific forms of these numerals. Immediately thereupon, however, he points out, and correctly so, that, not considering them "an sich," but in taking cognizance of their specific forms, we must recognize the Aramaic influence. The symbol for 5 is not found among the Phoenician but among the Aramaic numerals. The last sign of lines 4 and 10 is the letter pē, forming the initial of פלג, which is only the Aramaic word for one half. To this the writer consents. Even before reading Lidzbarski, the writer interpreted the numeral in lines 7, 13, against Dussaud and in agreement with Lidzbarski, as the Nabataean 5. Besides that, the symbol for 20, resembling the letter ט is Syriac⁴³ and not Phoenician. Furthermore we see that the Aramaic numerals prevail throughout the Jewish history from the Samaritan ostraca, c. 850 B. C., through the Aramaic papyri of c. 500–300 B. C., to the ossuaries of about 100 A. D. A fact which is even "an sich" quite natural, when we consider the close contact obtaining between the two nations and the role of the Aramaeans in international life.

§8. Origin and Development of the Semitic Numerals

The Aramaic numerals belong to a group of Semitic numerals common in Western Asia and on the shores of the Mediterranean. They are found in Phoenicia, Nabatene, Palmyrene and Syria. There can be no doubt about it that the so called Kharoṣṭhi numerals appearing in Hindu inscriptions from the time of king Aśoka (c. 250 B. C.) to the third century A. D. are nothing else than these Semitic numerals adopted by the Hindus. Even the words of these inscriptions are written from the right to the left and thus display the Semitic influence.⁴⁴ The strokes for the

⁴³ Cf. Euting, *loc. cit.*, and *Encyclop. Brit.*, 11th ed., XIX, p. 866.

⁴⁴ Cf. Lionel D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, London, 1913, p. 225: "As most of the Brāhmī letters agree with the Northern Semitic characters of the early part of the ninth century B. C., it seems likely that Hindu traders, about 800 B. C., borrowed North-Semitic letters to write their own language, and that then Hindu scholars arranged and developed them into alphabetical systems suitable to express the requirements of Sanskrit speech. One of these systems was the Brāhmī."—*Ib.* p. 227: "Besides the Brāhmī, there was an ancient form of writing, the Kharoṣṭhi or Kharoshṭri, which seems to have been adapted from the Aramaic script in the fifth century B. C."

units are found in the Egyptian hieroglyphs, in the Sinai-inscriptions and at Crete.⁴⁵ They were also adopted by the ancient Greeks who most likely learned them together with the alphabet from the Phoenicians. In Greece they remained long in use even after the rise of the initial and alphabetic numerals. In an inscription of Halicarnassos of c. 450 B. C. the initial, alphabetic and Semitic numerals are employed for different systems of coins. The primitive strokes are used for oboli, the horizontal bars indicate fractions.⁴⁶ The Babylonian numerals may perhaps be regarded as the common source and origin of all these symbols, but instead of the vertical and horizontal strokes we see here the vertical wedge and the horizontal angle hook employed for the units and tens.

In Aramaic inscriptions these numerals occur as early as the eighth century B. C.; they go down to the third century A. D. and later.⁴⁷ Partly the Aramaic numerals reach back to a stage in which there was not yet a special group symbol for the ten. This is the case on a bronze lion-weight found at Niniveh and belonging to the end of the eighth century B. C.⁴⁸ Here the number fifteen is expressed by three different methods given on three lines. On the first line one horizontal bar and five vertical strokes are given, on the second line fifteen vertical strokes are written, which apparently represents the older method, and finally, on the third line, the number words *hamshat 'asar* are given. Like in the Babylonian and Egyptian systems the units are usually arranged in groups of three. Sometimes the triads are placed one above the other $\begin{smallmatrix} || \\ | \\ | \end{smallmatrix}$.⁴⁹ The tens were represented

⁴⁵ See Hallo in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 80, 1926, p. 57, note 3.




⁴⁶ See Keil, *Hermes*, 29, 1894, pp. 250-53; Smith, *History*, II, pp. 47-49, 164; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., XVI, p. 611.

⁴⁷ See Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur*, Leipzig, 1922; G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 192.

⁴⁸ See G. A. Cooke, *loc. cit.*; *CIS*, II, pp. 1-14. The inscription reads in three lines

a	15 double minas of the country.	ב זי ארקא	—	מנן	a
b	15				b
c	Fifteen double minas of the King.	ב זי מלך		חמשת עשר מנין	c

⁴⁹ See *CIS*, II, p. 109; Cooke, p. 195.

by horizontal bars —, which later, in the stage of cursive writing, received a little tail at the end . Usually they were given in groups of two for twenty, forming a ligature (Table III, Figure 1); sometimes we find also groups of three with ligatures (Table III, Figure 2).⁵⁰ The horizontal bar for the ten was also used by the early Greeks in Crete and Cyprus.⁵¹ In an old Aramaic inscription of c. 745-727 B. C. found in Zenjirli we see the tens represented by dots. Seventy is written  שבעי, in words and numerals, thirty is written  בשלשן.⁵² As regards the hundreds and thousands, the writer is convinced that the Aramaeans simply imitated the Babylonian example in form and method.⁵³ The general symbol for 100 in the Aramaic inscriptions is given in Figure 6 of Table III, while for thousand they commonly⁵⁴ use the letters אלף, which are the final letters of אלף ('*alaph*, thousand). The late Babylonian symbols⁵⁵ for 100 and for 1000 are given in Table I. These Babylonian numerals are no more of the primitive type discussed before, but belong rather to the initial numerals.⁵⁶ With regard to the symbol for 100 all scholars are agreed that it is

⁵⁰ See Lidzbarski, *Altaramaeische Urkunden*, pp. 15-18. Here the horizontal bars represent the number ten and at the same time fractions of the greater unit measure. The tablets deal with the measures of grain *Imer* and *Qa*, of which one *Imer* is a hundred *Qa*. The *Imer* is taken as the unit and represented by the vertical stroke, hence the horizontal bar standing for a fraction follows the unit. Thus we have Figure 3 of Table III indicating 3 *Imer*, 30 *Qa*; ib Figure 4 indicating 4 *Imer*, 80 *Qa*. Otherwise, where the horizontal bar is the tenfold of the unit, it precedes the units, as seen on the table in § 9.

⁵¹ See Smith, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹⁴, XVI, p. 611, and cf. also *ib.* on the vertical and horizontal strokes in general.

⁵² See Cooke, p. 172, note 3, and pp. 175-76. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I, p. 198, however, contests the shape of the dots for the number thirty. He claims that they are three short horizontal bars. Furthermore he regards the bars as the earlier form. In the history of the alphabet, too, so he says, the bars become dots and not the opposite.

⁵³ The Phoenician symbol for 100 shows numerous variants. They use the forms of Figure 5 in Table III; see Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, I, p. 200; Cooke, pp. 44, 83, 109-112.

⁵⁴ Especially in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine.

⁵⁵ See the note to the Babylonian numerals in § 9.

⁵⁶ See § 11.

the syllable *me* from *me'at* or *me'u* = 100.⁵⁷ Concerning the symbol for 1000 there is a possibility of interpreting it as 10. *me* = 10. 100. But Langdon, *loc. cit.*, thinks that it is a phonetic symbol, spelling *lim*, from *limu* = 1000. At any rate they are initial numerals. The same is the case with the Aramaic numeral for 100. This symbol, given in Figure 6 of Table III, is nothing else than the old Aramaic letter *mim*, forming the initial *m* from *me'ah* = 100. From the ancient Phoenician-Hebrew form for the *mim* (Figure 7), there soon developed the forms in Figure 8 common in all the Aramaic inscriptions from 700 to 300 B. C.⁵⁸

The units and tens are expressed by plain juxtaposition, or the additive method. A different method is used with the hundreds and thousands. Here the multiplicative system is employed, the number of the hundreds and thousands is expressed by a coefficient preceding the symbol for 100 or 1000. This is in imitation of the procedure of the language that also uses the multiplicative method for the hundreds and thousands. The reason for that is clear. By the time that the Semites came to represent the hundreds and thousands, they already had made progress in mathematics and were acquainted with multiplication.⁵⁹ Thus all the characteristics of the hundreds and thousands indicate their late origin.

There are also traces of a system of place value in the Aramaic notation like in the Babylonian sexagesimal numerals. The symbol for ten signifies ten when the units are standing after it, but it denotes hundred when the units are placed before it, i. e. to the right. In that case the symbol given in Figure 6, usually denoting 100, was employed for thousand.⁶⁰ It seems, however,

⁵⁷ See Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, Paris, 1911, p. 119, note 4. This theory was corroborated by a private letter of Professor Neugebauer, Goettingen, to the author.

⁵⁸ See the alphabetic table of Lidzbarski in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, I, p. 450; and at the end of vol. II of his *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*.

⁵⁹ See Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, I, p. 201; Hankel, *Geschichte der Mathematik*, in the beginning.

⁶⁰ See *CIS.*, II, pp. 162-64, No. 147, (reproduced in Figure 9 of Table III = 13.887 and 850); *ib.* p. 174, No. 153, in Figure 10 *ib.*, = eleven hundred and eleven.

that this method caused a great deal of confusion. To avoid this uncertainty and confusion, the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine abandoned the place value, using for 1000 the word *laph* and for 100 the initial *mim*.

It will be noted that the Semites developed special numerals only for the units, tens and hundreds. Special symbols for 1000, 10.000, 100.000 and the million we find with the Egyptians.⁶¹ The Hindus, however, created number names for the power of ten as high as 10^{53} , (e. g., one *Koti* is 10^7), and developed special number signs not only for the nine units but also for the multiples of the tens, hundreds, thousands and ten-thousands. They have special numeral signs for the numbers 20, 60, 80, 100, 200, 400, 1000, 4000, 6000, 10.000 and 70.000.⁶²

§9. Tables of the Semitic Numerals

Dr. P. Romanoff was kind enough to prepare a calligraphic copy of the numerals, which is herewith gratefully acknowledged.

NOTES TO TABLE I:

¹ For the hieroglyphic numerals see Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlwörter bei den alten Aegyptern*, 1916, pp. 4–6, and the table at the end; Smith, *History*, II, p. 46; idem, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,¹⁴ XVI, p. 611.

² For the Babylonian numerals see Smith, *History*, II, p. 37; idem, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, loc. cit.; A. Deimel, *Sumerische Grammatik* Roma, 1924, pp. 182–98, §§43–45; idem, *Keilschrift Palaeographie*, p. 34, No. 240; Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, Paris, 1911, pp. 115–23 (*ib.*, p. 115 the bibliography is given); L. W. King, *Assyrian Language*, London, 1901, p. 99–100; Loeffler E, *Ziffern und Ziffernsysteme der Kulturvoelker*, 1912, pp. 23–29; Tropicke, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*, 2nd ed., I, pp. 14–15. See especially the list of numerals given by Ch. Fossey in his *Manuel d'Assyriologie*, Paris, 1926, p. 1060ff, to which Professor Neugebauer kindly called my attention. Fossey lists several variants for each numeral but he refers to the sexagesimal system. In our table here the sexagesimal system is omitted and only the decimal system is given, for the sake of comparison with the other Semitic numerals. Loeffler, loc. cit., pp. 24, 28, says that the decimal system was used for the practical purposes of everyday life in trade and commerce, while the sexages-

⁶¹ See Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlwörter*, p. 2, and his table at the end.

⁶² See Smith-Karpinski, pp. 15, 23–24.

imal system was employed in the mathematical and astronomical documents. Neugebauer, however, in a private letter, writes: "Die Schreibungen, die Sie anführen (the decimal system), sind ganz spaet und sind in mathematischen Texten bis auf wenige Ausnahmen nicht belegt. In historischen Texten ist eine ganz andere Art der Schreibung mancher Zahlzeichen ueblich, als in mathematischen Texten derselben Zeit. Auch lokale Unterschiede waeren zu beachten . . . Ich kenne keinen einzigen mathematischen Text, der die Schreibung von 60 mit sechs Zehnern hätte." For years Neugebauer has been collecting material on the history of the Babylonian numerals but he is not yet ready to publish the results.

³ For the Phoenician numerals see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,¹¹ XIX, p. 866; *CIS*, I, pp. 30-40; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I, pp. 198-202; II, table XLVI, 2, at the end of the volume; Julius Euting, *Nabataeische Inschriften*, table on pp. 96-97 (both Lidzbarski and Euting list the Phoenician, Aramaic, Palmyrene and Nabataean numerals. Euting gives also the Syriac numerals); Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 18-122, and in particular pp. 44, 83, 109-112.

⁴ For the Aramaic numerals see *CIS*, II, pp. 2-164, in particular pp. 2, 66, 109, 157, 162-64; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*; Euting and Lidzbarski, *loc. cit.*; Lidzbarski, *Altaramaeische Urkunden*; Cooke, *loc. cit.*, pp. 171-213.

⁵ For the Palmyrene numerals see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,¹¹ *loc. cit.*; Euting and Lidzbarski, *loc. cit.*; Cooke, pp. 263-340.

⁶ For the Nabataean numerals see Euting and Lidzbarski, *loc. cit.*; Cooke, pp. 214-62.

⁷ For the Kharoṣṭhi numerals see Smith-Karpinski, pp. 19-21; Buehler, *Indische Palaeographie*, pp. 73-74. Compare also L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, London 1913, p. 225.

TABLE I. SEMITIC NUMERALS.

	HIEROGLIPHIC	BABYLONIAN	PHOENICIAN	ARAMAËAN	PALMYRENE	NABATAËAN	KHAROS̄THI
1	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆
2	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍
3	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔
4	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚, 𐤛	𐤜
5	𐤝, 𐤞, 𐤟	𐤠	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣	𐤤	𐤥
6	𐤦, 𐤧, 𐤨	𐤩	𐤪	𐤫	𐤬	𐤭	𐤮
7	𐤯	𐤰	𐤱	𐤲	𐤳	𐤴	𐤵
8	𐤶	𐤷	𐤸	𐤹	𐤺	𐤻	𐤼
9	𐤽	𐤾	𐤿	𐥀	𐥁	𐥂	𐥃
10	𐥄	𐥅	𐥆	𐥇, 𐥈	𐥉	𐥊, 𐥋	𐥌
11	𐥍	𐥎	𐥏	𐥐	𐥑	𐥒	𐥓
19	𐥔, 𐥕, 𐥖	𐥗	𐥘	𐥙	𐥚	𐥛	𐥜
20	𐥝, 𐥞	𐥟	𐥠, 𐥡, 𐥢	𐥣	𐥤	𐥥, 𐥦	𐥧
21	𐥨	𐥩	𐥪	𐥫	𐥬	𐥭	𐥮
30	𐥯, 𐥰, 𐥱	𐥲	𐥳	𐥴	𐥵	𐥶	𐥷
40	𐥸	𐥹	𐥺	𐥻	𐥼	𐥽	𐥾
50	𐥿	𐦀	𐦁	𐦂	𐦃	𐦄	𐦅
60	𐦆	𐦇	𐦈	𐦉	𐦊	𐦋	𐦌
70	𐦍	𐦎	𐦏	𐦐	𐦑	𐦒	𐦓
80	𐦔	𐦕	𐦖	𐦗	𐦘	𐦙	𐦚
90	𐦛	𐦜	𐦝	𐦞	𐦟	𐦠	𐦡
100	𐦣	𐦤	𐦥, 𐦦	𐦧, 𐦨, 𐦩	𐦪	𐦫	𐦬
200	𐦭	𐦮	𐦯, 𐦰	𐦱	𐦲	𐦳	𐦴
300	𐦵	𐦶	𐦷, 𐦸	𐦹	𐦺	𐦻	𐦼
400	𐦽	𐦿	𐧀	𐧁	𐧂	𐧃	𐧄
500	𐧅	𐧆	𐧇	𐧈	𐧉	𐧊	𐧋
600	𐧌	𐧍	𐧎	𐧏	𐧐	𐧑	𐧒
700	𐧓	𐧔	𐧕	𐧖	𐧗	𐧘	𐧙
800	𐧚	𐧛	𐧜	𐧝	𐧞	𐧟	𐧠
900	𐧡	𐧢	𐧣	𐧤	𐧥	𐧦	𐧧
1000	𐧨	𐧩	𐧪	𐧫	𐧬	𐧭	𐧮
2000	𐧯	𐧰	𐧱	𐧲	𐧳	𐧴	𐧵
10000	𐧶	𐧷	𐧸	𐧹	𐧺	𐧻	𐧼
20000	𐧽	𐧾	𐧿	𐨀	𐨁	𐨂	𐨃

TABLE II. HEBREW NUMERALS.

(See §§ 4-7)

1) OSTRACA: I = 1; II = 2; \aleph = 5; (Hieratic: \aleph , \aleph = 5); Λ = 10; $\aleph\Lambda$ = 15; II $\aleph\Lambda$ = 17?

2) OSSUARIES: (Syria IV, 1923, pp. 241-44)

line 1	II \aleph	10+2	line 15		
" 2	VII \aleph	20+4	" 16	II \aleph	20+1
" 3	II \aleph	20+3	" 17	VII \aleph	20+2
" 4	\aleph II \aleph	20+1+ $\frac{1}{2}$ * ¹	" 18	VII \aleph	20+3
" 5	II \aleph	20+2	" 19	VII \aleph	10+4
" 6	II \aleph	20+2	" 20	VII \aleph	5+3
" 7	II \aleph	5+3 * ²	" 21	I...	...1
" 8	II \aleph	20+3	" 22	I \aleph	10+1
" 9	II \aleph	10+2	" 23	VII \aleph	20+3
" 10	\aleph II \aleph	20+ $\frac{1}{2}$ * ³	" 24	II	3
" 11	II \aleph	20+3	" 25	
" 12	II \aleph	20+3	" 26	II \aleph	20+2
" 13	II \aleph	20+2 * ⁴	" 27	VII \aleph	20+4
" 14	II \aleph	20+2			

*¹. So with Lidzbarski. Dussaud reads 20+3.

*². So with Lidzbarski. Dussaud reads 20+3.

*³. So with Lidzbarski. Dussaud reads 20+3.

*⁴. So with Lidzbarski. Dussaud reads 20+2.

3) NUMERALS IN THE ARAMAIC PAPYRI OF ELEPHANTINE; SEE TABLE I UNDER ARAMAIC

4) NUMERALS IN THE NECROPOLIS OF ALEXANDRIA; SEE § 5, p.

\aleph 3 | 3 = 20; \aleph is 1000 ACCORDING TO LIDZBARSKI, OR 100 ACCORDING TO THE WRITER.

TABLE III. FIGURES OF VARIOUS SEMITIC NUMERALS.

[illegible]

TABLE IV. ALPHABETIC NUMERALS.

	HEBREW	GREEK	ARABIC
1	א	A	ا
2	ב	B	ب
3	ג	Γ	ج
4	ד	Δ	د
5	ה	E	ه
6	ו	F (Digamma)	و
7	ז	Z	ز
8	ח	H	ح
9	ט	Θ	ط
10	י	I	ي
20	כ	K	ك
30	ל	Λ	ل
40	מ	M	م
50	נ	N	ن
60	ס	Ξ	س
70	ע	O	ع
80	פ	Π	ف
90	צ	Q (Qoppa)	ص
100	ק	P	ق
200	ר	Σ	ر
300	ש	T	ش
400	ת	Υ	ت
500	ך, ת"ק	Φ	ث
600	ם, ת"ר	X	خ
700	ן, ת"ש	Ψ	ذ
800	ף, ת"ת	Ω	ض
900	ץ, תת"ק	Ͱ	ظ
1000	א'	Α	غ

III. Alphabetic Numerals

§10. Three Kinds of Alphabetic Numerals

In a broader sense we may take the term *alphabetic numerals* to be identical with *letter-numerals* and to designate numerals that are represented by letters. In that case we can distinguish two main classes. The one class comprises letter-numerals whose numerical value does not depend upon their alphabetic order, but upon the number words to which they belong. These are the initial numerals, so called because they are formed by the initial letters of the respective number words.⁶³ They are simply abbreviations of number words, hence they still belong to the phonographic numerals. On the other side, however, since they represent numerals by letters, they also belong to the letter-numerals. We may therefore regard them as an intermediate, or transitory stage between the number words and the alphabetic numerals proper. These latter ones form the second class of letter numerals whose numerical value does depend upon their alphabetic order, hence we call them the *alphabetic numerals proper*, and they belong to the ideographic numerals. Here, in the class of the alphabetic numerals proper, we may again distinguish two kinds: The alphabetic *ordinalia*, where the 22, or *n*, letters of the alphabet represent the ordinal numbers 1–22 or 1–*n*. In this system the iotta, in the Hebrew alphabet, is ten, the kappa—eleven, the lambda—twelve, etc. The second kind may perhaps be called the *decimalia*. In this system the ordinal as well as the cardinal numbers are included. The first nine letters represent the units, the following nine letters designate the tens, and the rest are used for the hundreds; hence kappa is twenty, not 11, lambda is thirty, not 12, etc. Thus we have (1) The initial letter numerals, (2) The alphabetic ordinalia (3) The alphabetic decimalia, to which last we usually refer by the term alphabetic numerals. As far as the first ten letters are concerned the numerical values of the ordinalia and decimalia are identical, it is therefore, sometimes, hard to decide to which class they belong. From the eleventh letter on they diverge. In the system

⁶³ See the following paragraph on initial numerals.

of the ordinalia the eleventh letter means eleven, in the system of the decimalia it designates the number twenty, while the number eleven is expressed by the addition of two letters IA, or ϛ^{v} .

§11. The Initial Numerals

The most elaborate system of initial numerals is found in Greece on Attic inscriptions dating from 454 to c. 95 B. C. According to Herodianus, they were known in Athens already at the time of Solon and were used in the text of Solon's laws (c. 594 B. C.).⁶⁴ In this system the initial letters of the number words were used as numerals. Γ, an old form used for π, as initial of πέντε, was 5; Δ from δέκα was 10; Η⁶⁵ from HEKATON, later εκατόν was 100; χ from χίλιοι was 1000; Μ from μύριοι was 10.000. They were still combined with the old Semitic marks that were employed to denote the units up to four, |, ||, |||, ||||. Thus ΓΙ was 6, ΓΙΙ=7, ΔΓ|||=19 etc.⁶⁶ These Greek numerals were first described by the grammarian Herodianus, (c. 150 A. D.) hence they were called the Herodianic signs. They are also known as the Attic numerals being the ones always found in Attic inscriptions. Larfeld coined for these initials the new term "das dezimale Ziffernsystem." But Keil⁶⁷ justly remarks that this term is too wide and, therefore, quite insignificant, since the alphabetic numerals, too, are decimal. Keil, therefore, proposes to call them the initial or acrophonic numerals, by which term their nature is more properly characterized. The terms Herodianic and Attic must now be repudiated, too, as being too narrow. These terms are derived from the Greek origin of the description or occurrence of the numerals and apply to the Greek initials only. The fact, however,

⁶⁴ See Larfeld, *Handbuch*, I, p. 416; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, I, p. 312.

⁶⁵ Η was the old Attic breathing, like our h, later represented by h .

⁶⁶ Concerning the Greek initial numerals see Smith, *History*, II, p. 49-50; idem, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, loc. cit.; Cantor, I, p. 129; Larfeld, *Handbuch*, I, p. 417; *Griechische Epigraphik*, p. 291-92; Keil in the *Hermes*, vol. 29, 1894, p. 253, 262; Sarton, loc. cit.

⁶⁷ Loc. cit., p. 253, note.

is that the initials did not originate in Greece at all. As has been shown already,⁶⁸ the Babylonians and Aramaeans used the initial *m* or *me*, from *me'ah*, for 100, and similar abbreviations, 10 *me* or *laph*, for 1000. In an old Sabaeen inscription, written in *boustrophedon* and dating back perhaps to c. 800 B. C., we also find initial numerals for the hundreds and thousands. There the number 6350 is first expressed in number words חמ[שי ושלֹה מאם ושדֹהת אלפם] and then in the initials (see Figure ii of Table III);⁶⁹ *aleph* is the initial of '*eleph*, thousand, *mim* is the initial of *mām*, hundred. It is very interesting to note that it was the common usage of the old Semites, the Babylonians, the Aramaeans and the Sabaeans, to employ initials for the hundreds and thousands only, because the primitive numerals were there already for the units and tens. Thus in this Sabaeen inscription they have no special initial for fifty, but they use for it the half of the *mām*, as it were $m/2$, the half of the symbol for 100. See Figure ii). Thus we see that the initial numerals, long claimed to be of Greek origin, are, like so many other Greek achievements, merely a legacy of the old Orient improved upon by the Greeks. The Greek innovation consisted in extending the system of initials up to the number 5, retaining of the primitive numerals the four strokes only for the first four units. Apparently this method was later accepted by the Romans, too.

§12. Two Theories on the Origin of the Alphabetic Numerals

There are two main theories on the origin of the alphabetic numerals. The older school is in favor of the Phoenician origin, while the younger school is representing the theory of the Greek origin. The standard Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius Kautzsch⁷⁰ asserts: "The order, names and *numerical values* of the letters have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks." Canon I. Taylor says:⁷¹ "Since the separate development of the Aramaean

⁶⁸ See §8, p. 70, and cf. also §14, p. 81, note 99, §7 on פלג = 50.

⁶⁹ See Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, p. 388.

⁷⁰ English edition, revised by Cowley, Oxford, 1910, p. 30, §i.

⁷¹ *The Alphabet*, I, p. 186.

alphabet dates from about the seventh century B. C., we may conclude that the present arrangement of the square Hebrew letters is not more recent than that date, while the *transmission of the same numerical values to the Greeks* implies an antiquity very considerably greater." The same theory is also expressed by Nesselmann:⁷² "Der sicherste Beweis fuer das hohe Alter des Zahlenwertes der Semitischen Buchstaben ist der, dass die Griechen diesen Zahlenwert schon zugleich mit den Buchstaben von den Phoeniziern erhielten." This theory was also accepted by Smith-Karpinski,⁷³ and Caspar Levias⁷⁴ is also inclined to assume that the numerical value of the alphabet was known already in earlier times to the Hebrews. The leading antagonists of this school are the Greek epigraphists W. Larfeld and B. Keil. According to their theory the credit for the invention of the alphabetic numerals is due to the Greeks. Larfeld says:⁷⁵ "Das vollkommenste und somit aelteste⁷⁶ aller alphabetischen Ziffernsysteme ist dasjenige, welches in drei parallelen Reihen 27 Buchstaben zur Bezeichnung der je 9 Einer, Zehner und Hunderter des Zahlenkreises von 1-900 verwertet . . . Ich nehme dieses Zahlenalphabet fuer Milet in Anspruch und setze die Erfindung desselben um spaetestens Ende des 8ten Jahrhunderts vor Chr." There is no evidence that the Phoenicians ever used the alphabetic numerals, and in Hebrew literature they first occur on the Hasmonaeen coins. The probability, therefore, is, so argues Larfeld,⁷⁷ that the Hebrews learned their use from the Greeks; by no means, however, must we assume that the Greeks learned the numerical value of the letters from the Phoenicians, at the time when they borrowed their alphabet. Keil, too, claims the alphabetic numerals as a Greek invention, but he believes

⁷² *Die Algebra der Griechen*, p. 74.

⁷³ P. 33, note 1.

⁷⁴ *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, IX, p. 348.

⁷⁵ *Handbuch*, I, p. 418-19; *Griech. Epigraphik*, p. 293-94.

⁷⁶ Larfeld does not believe in a slow and gradual growth of the system. He believes that it could not have originated but in a place where there were 27 letters, furnishing symbols for the complete system of the nine units, tens and hundreds.

⁷⁷ *Handbuch*, I, pp. 332, 416; *Griech. Epigraphik*, pp. 206, 291.

that they originated in Dorian Caria or in Halicarnassos at about 550–425 B. C.⁷⁸ The theory of the Greek origin was accepted by Dornseiff⁷⁹ and by Hallo.⁸⁰ The writer thinks that both schools are, in a certain sense, right, if we apply their contradictory theories to each of the two main classes of the alphabetic numerals. The alphabetic ordinalia, proceeding in the Hebrew alphabet from 1 to 22, are closely connected with the alphabetic order, and have their origin most probably with the Hebrews or even the Phoenicians. With the new invention of the alphabetic decimalia, however, the Greeks must be credited, since these numerals first occur in Greek documents. Both schools failed insofar, as they did not clearly distinguish between these two kinds of the alphabetic numerals in the discussion of the origin.

§13. The Alphabetic Ordinalia and the Alphabetic Order

The alphabetic ordinalia, as has been pointed out in §10, are distinguished by two characteristics. Firstly, they originally designated the ordinary number words only, as the first, second, third in a series, order, or succession and not the cardinal numbers that denote a quantity and answer the question "how much?". Secondly, the n letters in the alphabet⁸¹ indicated the natural order of the numbers proceeding from 1 to n . Upon the question as to the reason of these numerical values, the usual and natural answer has been that they come from the alphabetic order. But we may proceed further and ask: how did the alphabetic order come to pass? The answer upon that question is very hard to find. It is an established fact that the alphabetic order is of great antiquity. "The names, as well as the order of the letters, certainly existed at least one thousand years B. C., for they were known when the Greeks adopted their alphabet from the Semites," says Lidzbarski.⁸² It is generally accepted that the arrangement

⁷⁸ *Hermes*, vol. 29, 1894, pp. 264, 280.

⁷⁹ *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, 1923, p. 11.

⁸⁰ ZDMG, 80, 1926, pp. 56, 59.

⁸¹ As for instance, 22 in the Hebrew, 24 or 27 in the Greek alphabet.

⁸² *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, I, p. 439. See also the passages of the *Hebrew Grammar* and of Taylor's book quoted above, §12, p. 75, notes 70, 71.

of the alphabet must date from a period prior to the transmission of the Phoenician alphabet to the Greeks. But, as was justly pointed out by Taylor,⁸³ "the determining causes of this arrangement are not so easy to detect. The question has been a fertile subject of speculation, but any very positive results have not been hitherto attained." At present, fifty years after it was made, this statement is still valid. About the determining causes of the alphabetic order not much more is known now than fifty years ago, "The⁸⁴ usual methods of alphabetic arrangement are four: 1. Phonologic, 2. Morphologic, 3. Ideologic, 4. Chronologic. That is the classification of the letters is according to their sounds, their forms, their names or their dates. We have with regard to the Semitic alphabet three theories: 1. The ideologic hypothesis: *dalet* and *he*=door and window; *yod* and *kaph*, hand and palm; *mem* and *nun*, water and fish; *ayin-peh*=eye and mouth; *resh-shin*=head and tooth. 2. The phonologic scheme has been elaborately expounded by several scholars.⁸⁵ 3. The prevalent opinion, however, seems to be that the order is merely accidental. The ideologic and phonologic theories are good only as partial explanations, but they are inadequate to explain the whole of the facts." Under such circumstances it is a great puzzle indeed how this order, the reason of which was not known at all, could survive during those many centuries and pass over, unchanged, from one nation to the other. We must therefore assume that the early attachment of numerical values to the letters played a decisive part in the *preservation* of the alphabetic order.

Moreover, in almost every known alphabet, it may be recognized, more than one principle of arrangement has been at work.⁸⁶ A primitive arrangement, according to some one system, has usually been modified by subsequent partial rearrangements on different principles. In all probability the arrangement of the

⁸³ *The Alphabet*, I, pp. 185-96.

⁸⁴ Taylor, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁵ For the further elaboration of both these theories see Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik*, p. 205-6. Some other speculations are quoted by Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, p. 29, note 3.

⁸⁶ Taylor, *ib.*, p. 191.

Semitic alphabet was in a state of continuous change and flow.⁸⁷ Final stability and order was brought about through the numerical values. By receiving the numerical values the letters obtained the character of numerals, and their order was as firmly established as that of the numerals. Thus the survival of the order of the letters is due to their numerical values, which had the effect, as it were, of a chain. We may therefore conclude that the alphabetic ordinalia are in principle as old as the present alphabetic order.

§14. Greek and Hebrew Ordinalia

Documentary evidence for the factual occurrence of Greek ordinalia is extant in an inscription on a bronze tablet of the first half of the fifth century B. C. Some boundary stones belonging to the same time are also marked with letters having the character of the ordinal numbers. The beams of the great altar of Pergamos and some oracle tablets of Dodona display markation numbers in letters. The scholars of Alexandria (c. 280 B. C.) marked the 24 books of Homer with the letters A-Ω,⁸⁸ and a

⁸⁷ This tendency to change the order and adapt it to various principles is best demonstrated in the Arabic alphabet. First, the phonologic principle was tried, apparently influenced by Davanagari or Sanscrit alphabet (see Taylor, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 189; II, p. 300); then came the morphologic principle. But the old numerical values were already firmly established and hence retained. On the other side we see that the Ethiopic or South-Semitic alphabets differ from the North-Semitic alphabets as to the names, the *order*, the number and the numerical value of the letters. See Taylor, *ib.*, p. 159, note, and cf. also §17, p. 109.

⁸⁸ Or rather, they divided the works of Homer into twice 24 books, corresponding to the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet. In the initial letters of the Ilias MH (μν) they found already the number 48; see Th. Birth, *Kritik und Hermeneutik*, München 1913, p. 296. In this connection it may be remarked that the Hebrew tradition (Talmud, *Ta'anit* 8a, *Baba Bathra*, 14b), dividing the Bible into 24 books, may perhaps have its origin in Alexandria, where the translators of the Septuagint imitated the example of the Greek editors of Homer. On the other side, Josephus (*Contra Apionem* I, 8) and the Church Fathers (Athanasios, *epist.* 39; Migne, *Patrol*, *graec.* 26, p. 1436, quoted by Birth, *ib.* Cf. also *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, III, p. 151), know of a division of the Bible into 22 books, which would correspond to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Hieronymus in his *Prologus galeatus* says that the Hebrews

great number of building stones and votive gifts of the temples are marked with letters, apparently for the purpose of cataloguing and numbering them.⁸⁹ It was already observed by Carl Robert⁹⁰ that these ordinalia must have preceded the alphabetic decimalia. Robert correctly pointed out that the primitive strokes used by the Greeks in connection with the initial numerals were of no practical value for purposes of markation. This is still more so with the primitive numerals that were used by the Semites without the initial combination. It is therefore very natural to assume that the letters were used from the beginning as ordinal numbers for the markation of objects. The radical innovation that the second group of the nine letters shall indicate the tens, and the last nine letters the hundreds, came as a much later development.

The idea of distinguishing the Greek ordinalia from the usual alphabetic numerals was first expressed by the English mathematician Wallis (c. 1650).⁹¹ The Greek ordinalia were later fully discussed by Robert (*loc. cit.*), J. Woisin,⁹² Keil and Larfeld (*loc. cit.*) and by the historians Cantor⁹³ and Smith.⁹⁴ But nobody yet, to the writer's knowledge, called to the attention of historians of mathematics the existence of the Hebrew ordinalia, which, as we shall presently see, are much earlier than the alphabetic decimalia and which most probably are as old as, or still older

have 22 books according to the 22 letters, and that the five double books Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Jeremiah and Lamentations correspond to the five double letters כסנפץ; see also J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 4th ed., Göttingen 1823, I, p. 171, 46–47. Thus the Rabbis would have preserved the Greek tradition, while the Church Fathers would have transmitted a genuine Hebrew tradition.—Other explanations are given by Zeitlin in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1932, p. 129–30, in the off-print, called *An Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, p. 9ff, and by L. Blau, *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, Budapest 1894, pp. 6–8, 29, note 1. Blau *ib.*, p. 6–8, lists all the Rabbinic sources mentioning the number 24 for the books of the Bible.

⁸⁹ See Larfeld, *Handbuch*, I, p. 424; *Griech. Epigraphik*, p. 297–98.

⁹⁰ *Hermes*, vol. 18, 1883, p. 471–72.

⁹¹ So says Keil, *Hermes*, 29, 1894, p. 253, note, without quoting the passage.

⁹² *De Graecorum notis numeralibus*, Dissertation, Kiel, 1886, p. 30f.

⁹³ I, p. 121.

⁹⁴ *History*, II, p. 51.

than, the Greek ordinalia. In first line we have to mention the alphabetic poems of the Bible in which each verse begins with a letter of the alphabet in such a way that the twenty-two verses of the poem display the established alphabetic order.⁹⁵ Sometimes each letter is repeated three times or even eight times.⁹⁶ These poems are usually cited as evidence for the alphabetic order and we might as well take them as early evidence for the existence of the alphabetic ordinalia. In all probability the alphabetic letters were used long before to indicate the place and order of the single verses. Later on the poet invented the acrostic form, by which the first words of the verses were chosen in such an ingenious way that their initial letters indicated the order. It is by no means justified to assume with certain commentators that the acrostic form is proof for the late origin of the poem. We have a Babylonian acrostic psalm ascribed to Assurbanipal who became king of Assyria in 668 B. C. It is true, the acrostics here is not alphabetic but it gives the name of the king.⁹⁷ At any rate it proves the antiquity of the acrostic form, and we may therefore safely assume that the alphabetic acrostics in the Bible, traces of which were already detected in the Prophet Nahum,⁹⁸ is at least as old as the seventh century B. C.⁹⁹ Still older seems to be the

⁹⁵ For instance: *Psalms* 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119; *Proverbs*, 31, 10–31; *Lamentations*, 1–4. More about the subject is to be found in Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, p. 29–30, and in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, I, p. 171, under *Acrostics*.

⁹⁶ As in the 66 verses of *Lamentations*, 3, and in the 176 verses of *Psalms* 119.

⁹⁷ *A-na-ku Aš-sur-ba-an-ap-li etc.*, meaning: "I Assurbanipal etc.;" see *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 2, p. 108 and cf. also B. Meissner, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, 1927, p. 25: "Gewöhnlich ergeben die Anfangszeichen von oben nach unten gelesen ein Akrostichon; bei einem derartigen Gedichte bildete das Akrostichon den Satz: Ich bin Assurbanipal, der Dich anrief. Schenk mir Leben, o Marduk, so will ich Dir huldigen."

⁹⁸ I, 2–10; see *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* and Gesenius-Kautzsch, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁹ Accordingly the article *Acrostics* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., I, p. 136, saying: "The fancy for writing acrostics is of great antiquity, having been common among the Greeks of the Alexandrine period (c.300 B. C.);" is to be corrected. As we see, there are examples of Babylonian and Hebrew acrostics going back to the seventh century B. C. We have here again an instance of a Greek invention that proves to be of Semitic origin; see §11, note 68.

ordinal numeral found in the Aramaic inscription written upon one of the bronze lion-weights and discussed above, §8. The words ב || |||—מן are translated as "fifteen *double* minas." Now, if the philologists are right in explaining ב as "double," we would have here an Aramaic ordinal numeral of the eighth century B. C.

Of a later origin are Hebrew ordinalia referred to in the *Talmud*. Thus we read in the *Mishna*:¹⁰⁰ "The money from the Temple treasury was removed in three baskets each containing three *Se'ah*, and the letters *aleph*, *beth*, *gimmel* were written upon them. Rabbi Ishmael (c. 100 A. D.) says: The Greek letters *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma* were written upon them." As explained in the *Talmud*¹⁰¹ and *Tosephta*, the letters indicated the order in which the money was used for the purchase of the sacrifices. First the money of the basket with the *aleph*, then that of the *beth*-basket and last that of the *gimel*-basket was used. Rabbi Ishmael, whose dissenting minority opinion is recorded, was the descendant of a high-priest family living in the first generation after the destruction of the Temple (70 A. D.), and his traditions are reliable.¹⁰² Hence the controversy only shows that it was customary in the Temple of Jerusalem to mark the vessels both with Hebrew and Greek letters, or also, that votive gifts bearing Greek letters were not rejected by the Temple officials. In another tradition it is said:¹⁰³ "If one finds a vessel, upon which the letter *qoph* is written, then it is *qorban*, "a sacrifice"; *mim*,

¹⁰⁰ *Shegalim*, III, 2 עליון את הלשכה וכתוב עליהן ב' אלף, ג' אלף, ד' אלף. רבי ישמעאל אומר יונית כתוב עליהן אלף, ב' אלף, ג' אלף, ד' אלף. נמא.

¹⁰¹ *Megillah*, 21b, *Yoma*, 62a; the *Palestinian Talmud ad locum*; *Tosephta*, ed. Zuckermann, II, 1.

¹⁰² Several ossuaries and tombstones of the last centuries of the second commonwealth show indeed Greek inscriptions and Greek names besides the Hebrew names. In some of them the Hebrew name is dropped altogether; see S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 3.

¹⁰³ *Mishna Ma'aser Sheni*, IV, 11; the *Palestinian Talmud ad locum*; *Tosephta*, V, 1 המוצא כלי וכתוב עליו קוף, קרבן; מ'ס, מעשר; ח' תרומה . . . ר' יוסי אומר כולם, שמונת בני אדם הם . . . מצא כלי וכתוב עליו אלף, דל"ת, ר"ש, ת"ז הרי זו תרומה; יו"ד, מ', הרי זה מעשר; ב"ת פ"ה ש"ן הרי זה מעשר שני. In the latter sentence I give the reading and commentary of Rabbi Eliah Wilna (d. 1808) in his glosses; cf. also the *Ridbaz ad locum* and the *Minhat Bikkurim* to the *Tosephta*.

then it is *ma'aser*, "the tithe"; . . . *taw*, then it is *termuah*, "the priestly share." Rabbi Yose (c. 150 A. D.) says: they are all the initials of proper names . . . If one finds a vessel upon which the letter *aleph* or *daleth* or *resh* or *taw* is written, then it is *termuah*; *yod* or *mim*, then it is *ma'aser*; *beth*, *peh*, *shin*, then it is *ma'aser sheni*, "the second tithe." "The explanation is: *aleph* refers to *terumah*, because it means "first," i. e.: the first priestly gift. *Yod* is the tenth, hence "tithe." *Beth* is the second, hence "second tithe." *Shin* is the initial of *sheni*, meaning "second."^{103a} Here again we see that frequently vessels, jars or vases were found upon which Hebrew letters were written. Some Rabbis explained those letters as initials of words referring to the compulsory priestly or levitical gifts which were supposed to be preserved in the vessels. Others interpreted the letters as initials of proper names. Some of the letters were interpreted as ordinal numbers, *beth* = 2; *aleph* = 1; *yod* = 10. It is interesting to compare the finds of old Attic vases with Greek letters. Robert, who reports about them,¹⁰⁴ thinks that they are to be understood as number-markations, "Numerierungszahlen," made by the factory worker. We may perhaps adopt his explanation in regard to the finds in the times of the Rabbis, and say that all the Hebrew letters are a similar case of number markation. On the other side, it must be admitted that Rabbi Yose's opinion seems plausible also with regard to the Attic vases.¹⁰⁵ Another tradition of the same Rabbi Yose, however, refers plainly to Hebrew ordinalia and offers again an interesting parallel to the Greek ordinalia. The *Mishna* teaches:¹⁰⁶

^{103a} This would be a Hebrew initial, but we cannot draw a conclusion from a single fact.

¹⁰⁴ *Hermes*, 18, 1883, p. 471.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 1932, p. 123f.: "Fragments of vases were found which had been inscribed with names of persons, evidently of the owner of the vessel: Uziah, Hezekiah, Nahum. They are written in the familiar script of the Siloam inscription and belong to the 8th or 7th century B. C." For abbreviations of proper names in inscriptions see also S. Klein in *Hazofeh, Quartalis Hebraica*, VIII (1924), p. 114ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Shabbat*, XII, 3; see also *Tosephta*, ib, XII, 6, and *Babli*, f. 102. הכותב ב' אותיות . . . בין משם אחד בין משני שמות, בין משני סימניות, בכל לשון, חייב. אמר ר' יוסי לא חייבו שתי אותיות אלא משום רשם. ש כך היו כותבין על קרשי המשכן לידע איזה בן זוג.

"If one writes on a Sabbath day two letters, be it of one name or of two names,¹⁰⁷ be it as two various symbols,¹⁰⁸ in any language whatever, then he is guilty of a violation of the Sabbath. Rabbi Yose said: "Two letters do not constitute a violation on account of writing but on account of markation. For such was the custom to write letters on the boards of the tabernacle in order to know the match of each board." If this tradition does not go back to the times of the Hebrew tabernacle, it certainly reflects the usage of his time and of earlier periods to mark the boards of a building by letters as ordinal numbers,¹⁰⁹ a usage which is confirmed by the finds of Greek letters upon the boards of the Pergamos altar and upon various building stones, as discussed above.

As Hebrew ordinalia we must also claim the alphabetic numerals on the Hasmonean and Hebrew coins. The writer herewith deviates in two regards from the usual opinion which considers the first alphabetic numerals on the Hebrew coins as decimalia and the so called first Hasmonean coins¹¹⁰ as dating of c. 139 B. C. In first line, there is no evidence that these letters are the alphabetic decimalia, since they run only from 'א שנה to 'ה שנה, from "the first year" to "the fifth year." We have no numerals for the tens, and those extant indicate only the units and only ordinal numbers; hence the writer takes them as ordinalia. In second line, it is by no means certain that the coins referred to do really belong to the time of Simon, the first Hasmonean prince of c. 140 B. C. The first reference to the alphabetic

¹⁰⁷ This means: be it two identical letters, as two *alephs*, or two different letters.

¹⁰⁸ Maimonides (d. 1204) in his commentary explains these symbols as the alphabetic numerals. Rabbi Yom Tob Lipman Heller (1579-1654) thinks that the symbols refer to some kind of special numerical symbols like the Hindu numerals, which, of course, only proves that these numerals were known to Rabbi Heller as of Hindu origin. Some commentators read סממניו, which is to be translated: "of two various colors."

¹⁰⁹ Maimonides, of course, knew only of the alphabetic decimalia, he therefore explains in his commentary the markation numbers of the boards as decimalia.

¹¹⁰ With the description: *Obverse*: שקל ישראל, *Reverse*: ירושלם הקדושה.

numerals on coins of 140 B.C. was given in 1874 by Hankel¹¹¹ on the authority of Julius Euting, and was since then repeated by all the historians of mathematics. However, T. Reinach already advocated the theory that these coins belong rather to the time of 66–70 A. D. It is true, Reinach in his learned article on Numismatics in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*¹¹² retracted his former opinion and favored again the date of 139 B. C. But G. A. Cooke still holds¹¹³ that there is now a general agreement among experts that the coins in question belong to the period of the first Revolt against the Romans, 66–70 A. D. We must therefore say (1) that the first Hebrew coins with a *certain date in Hebrew numerals* are those struck by Antigonus-Mattathias, the last Hasmonean prince of 40–37 B. C., and (2) that these Hebrew numerals are the alphabetic ordinalia. The Hebrew legend on these coins reads מַתְתִּיָּה הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל and ש"א or ש"ב.¹¹⁴ They are the first Jewish coins which bear a date at all, since the coins of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B. C.) and of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B. C.) have no date. There are also coins of the second Revolt, 132–35 A. D., with the dates ש"א and ש"ב. But all these numerals are only alphabetic ordinalia. Now this system of ordinalia was very impractical for the purpose of representing higher numbers. The Greeks helped themselves by writing AA for 25, AB for 26 etc. The Hindus of southern India developed a similar system of alphabetic ordinalia which is still used there in the pagination of manuscripts. In this system the thirty-four consonants when followed by a, (as ka . . . la) designate the numbers 1–34; by ā (as kā . . . lā) those from 35–68; by i those from 69 to 102 inclusive etc.¹¹⁵ As regards the Hebrews we may perhaps see in the permutative gematria of *at-bash*¹¹⁶ an attempt to represent the number 23.

¹¹¹ *Geschichte der Mathematik*, p. 34 (edited posthumously); see also Cantor, I, p. 125.

¹¹² IX, p. 353.

¹¹³ *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 352, 356–7.

¹¹⁴ See Cooke, *loc. cit.*, p. 355–56; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, IX, p. 354.

¹¹⁵ Smith-Karpinski, p. 40.

¹¹⁶ This is a kind of secret code in which the letters ה"צ, ד"ק, ג"ר, ב"ש, א"ת, כ"ל, י"ח, ט"ו, ח"ס, ז"ע, ו"פ may stand for each other; see Cantor, I, p. 122; and hereafter p. 89 and 94. In the system of the ordinalia the value of each group

Instances of *at-bash* occur already in the Bible.¹¹⁷ But there is no further development for the expression of numbers higher than 23.¹¹⁸ In conclusion the writer wishes to remark that it must be admitted that so far we did not succeed in proving that the letters from *kaph* to *taw* had the value of 11–22. In all the instances cited the letters do not exceed the value ten, they therefore admit a double interpretation, as ordinalia and as decimalia. But in consideration of the facts (1) that they refer only to ordinal numbers, (2) that there are also Greek ordinalia and (3) that the logical conclusion from the alphabetic order is that originally the 22 letters represented only the numbers 1–22, the writer contends that these numerals are ordinalia and lays the burden of the proof upon those who interpret them as decimalia.

§15. Alphabetic Decimalia and the Gematria

The earliest evidence in Jewish literature for the alphabetic numerals with a decimal character is to be found in the instances of gematria occurring in the Talmud and also in the Hellenistic¹¹⁹ literature of the Jews. The study of the alphabetic decimalia will therefore turn into an investigation of the gematria, and in the following I propose to discuss briefly (1) the etymology and meaning, (2) the nature and scope, and (3) the history and origin.

is 23. Similarly, in the permutation system of א"ט ב"ח two letters forming the number 10 may stand for each other; see *Sukkah* 52b and hereafter, p. 102, §16.

¹¹⁷ *Jeremiah*, 25, 26 ששך = בבבל; ib. 51, 1 קמי לב = כשרים.

¹¹⁸ *Lamentations*, III, and *Psalms*, 119, where the alphabet is repeated three and eight times respectively, cannot be regarded as representations of higher numbers. The number 22, corresponding to the 22 letters of the alphabet, remained therefore a round number; see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, IX, p. 349. The 23 judges of the small synedrium may also be explained as 22 members and one president. On the small synedrium see *Sanhedrin*, 2a/b and 88b; Gandz, *Monumenta Talmudica*, II, pp. 21, 26. Cf. also the division of the Bible into 22 books, referred to above, p. 79 note 88.

¹¹⁹ See hereafter, p. 91ff.

(1) Etymology and Meaning

The term gematria has nothing to do with geometry. It is never employed in the sense of geometry. In the Talmud, the geometers and land surveyors are called by the old Semitic name *mashoha*,¹²⁰ never *geōmetrēs*. On the other side, we never find in Greek literature the terms *γεωμετρία*, *γεωμέτρης* and *γεωμετρικός* applied to the calculation of the numerical value of letters or to the permutation of letters, which in the Talmud is usually referred to by gematria. Hence the etymology deriving the word gematria from *γεωμετρία*¹²¹ is definitely to be rejected. The similarity of sound is a mere coincidence and has nothing to say in face of the dissimilarity of meaning.

Quite untenable is also the latest etymology suggested by Felix Perles,¹²² according to which gematria would come from *γάμμα τρία*, i. e. "gamma is three." Why should just the letter gamma have been singled out? For the sake of curiosity and in order to complete the series of erroneous interpretations mention may also be made here of the strange etymology given by R. Joseph Caro (1488–1575), who explains gematria as *גיא מטוריא*, "a vale between mountains."¹²³ The only correct etymology is to derive the term by transformation from the Greek *γραμματεία*, and to explain it as "cryptography, the science, art or game of forming secret letters, the art of secret codes, the numerical interpretation of letters, the permutation of letters." Originally it consisted in the invention of secret codes of writing by the permutation of letters according to their position in the alphabetic order, or also with regard to their numerical value. It also included the change of direction of writing from right-left to the left-right, or from the horizontal to the vertical line.

¹²⁰ משוחא; cf. Gandz, *The Mishnat ha Middot*, p. 15, note 19; p. 26, note 20a.

¹²¹ Cf. the dictionaries of Kohut, II, 309; and Levy, I, 324; S. Krauss, *Lehnwoerter*, I, 93; II, 171; Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 368. The explanation seems to have been first given by Simon b. Şemaḥ Duran (1361–1444), as quoted by Kohut, *ib.*

¹²² *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wiss. des Judentums*, 1932, p. 288.

¹²³ Cf. his *גיא מטוריא* to the *הליכות עולם*, IV, 3: *שהמלות*. *פירוש גימטריא גיא מטוריא*. Quoted and accepted also by Isaiah Horowitz (c. 1555–1630), *שליח*, Amsterdam 1698, f. 411a, and by Lampronti, *פחד יצחק*, under *גימטריא*, II, 56b.

question as to why the Chaldean scholars and astrologers were unable to *read* the enigmatic words MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN.¹³⁵ Thereupon Rab says that they were written in gematria, i. e. by the permutation of *at bash*, יטת יטת אדרך פוגחמט. Hence gematria is a permutation of letters, a secret code of writing, formed by various principles. According to Rab it was the *at bash* principle.¹³⁶ Samuel thinks it was a secret code in which the vertical direction was used instead of the מ מ ת ו ס horizontal one, and R. Yohanan says that the right- נ נ ק פ י left direction was changed into a left-right one א א ל ר ן ן. It is interesting to note that these three Amoras of the first generation (c. 200 A. D.), all of them eminent scholars and authorities, refer to well known, historical modes of writing.¹³⁷ Thus these secret codes were, as it seems, originally not artificial creations, but merely survivals of antiquated and discarded methods of writing. Rab Ashi (352–427), the editor of the Talmud, however, adds an artificial system, in which the first two letters of the word changed places.

Further confirmation of this conception of gematria as a letter-code formed by the permutation of *at bash*, without relation to numbers, is to be found in the *Pesiqta Rabbati*¹³⁸ and in the Palestinian Talmud.¹³⁹ The *Baraita of 32 Middot* counts gematria as the 29th *middah*, rule, of agadic interpretation, and distinguishes two kinds of gematria, the numerical gematria, which refers to the numerical values of the letters, and the

¹³⁵ See Daniel, V, 8, 25. The difficulty is quite obvious indeed. It is understandable that they could not *explain* the meaning of the words, but it is hard to see why they could not *read* the writing.

¹³⁶ See above, p. 85.

¹³⁷ According to some authorities, the permutation of *at bash*, too, goes back to the system of writing known as *boustrophedon*. The alphabet was in the first line arranged and written from the right to the left, and in the second line from the left to the right. The letters standing in the same vertical line

_____ ת	ש, ר, ק, ד, ב, ג, ...
_____ א	ב, ג, ד, ק, ר, ש, ת

were then exchanged for each other. Cf. the interesting article of Clermont-Ganneau in *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, I, Paris, 1888, pp. 136–59.

¹³⁸ Chap. 43; ed. Friedmann, 181b. לשון גימטריקון הוא, תחו הוא אסף.

¹³⁹ *Ta'anit*, III, 10, 67a, line 35. א"ר לידה מהו "תונת" אמול לישן גימטריא הוא, "אפרא".

permutative gematria.¹⁴⁰ Hence it recognizes permutation of letters as an old method of gematria. Zunz¹⁴¹ cites a number of passages in the posttalmudic literature where the term gematria is employed for permutation of letters. And indeed the Greek term *grammata* originally implied something secret and hidden. Says G. Murray:¹⁴² "*Grammata* means to the Greek 'scratches.'" The name of a scholar was *grammaticos*. He was a man of *grammata*, one who could deal with these strange scratches and read them aloud. The first thing that the disciple learns is to read the *grammata* of his teacher." At a later time, when the plain *grammata* were no more secret, special devices were invented to conceal their meaning and to preserve their secret character. This is the gematria which was regarded as a deep esoteric wisdom.¹⁴³ Sometimes the Greek loanword *grammata* was direct translated into the Hebrew אותיות. This is the case in *Sanhedrin* 38a and *Erubin* 65a ויין ניתן בשבעים אותיות וסוד ניתן בשבעים אותיות, where the term אותיות refers to the numerical gematria. The word אותיות seems to be an old gloss, of Talmudic or Gaonic times, to בשבעים, and has the meaning of באותיות or בנימטריא. Rashi had it already in his text, and he explains it as כך חשבנו בנימטריא (in *Erubin*) or, very succinctly, as בנימטריא (in *Sanhedrin*). It is clear that Rashi explains the term אותיות as בנימטריא. This is also the explanation given by Levias.¹⁴⁴ It must be remarked, however, that the word אותיות is missing in several manuscripts and printed sources quoted in *Diqduqe Sopherim*. Possibly it was dropped by some of the copyists, as the phrase בשבעים אותיות gave no sense. In a similar sense the term אותיות is to be explained in the *Pesiqta*

¹⁴⁰ Ed. Katzenellenbogen, f. 52-53 מה'א אם להשבון, מנין שדורשין נימטריא באגדה? ואם להמורת האותיות. הרי כבר אמר לב קמי, שמונה עשר ושלש מאות דעולה למנין אליעזר, ואם להמורת האותיות. הרי כבר אמר לב קמי, בחלוק האותיות כשרים. Instead of the loanword gematria there was also the term חשבון, or חושבון (*Nedarim* 32) אותיות, חשבון החיבה (see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, V, 589, and hereafter, p. 91).

¹⁴¹ *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 368-9.

¹⁴² *The Rise of the Greek Epos*, p. 94-96.

¹⁴³ See *Revelation*, XIII, 18, and the *Sibylline Oracles*, quoted hereafter, p. 92-93, where the passages have the character of popular puzzles or riddles.

¹⁴⁴ *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, V, 589.

Rabbati, XXXIII.¹⁴⁵ Friedmann emendates [ספור] אותיות ויעד ואתה מוצא תשעים, which is not necessary. The writer would rather suggest אותיות ויעד אתה מוצא תשעים or אותיות ויעד תשעים.¹⁴⁶

(2) Nature and Scope

We have thus to distinguish first the two main classes of gematria, mentioned already in the *Baraita of the 32 Middot*, (1) the permutative gematria תמורת האותיות, חלוף האותיות, and (2) the numerical gematria, מנין האותיות, חשבון האותיות, חשבון. This latter one may again be divided into three kinds.¹⁴⁷ (a) A number is interpreted as pointing to a word of the same numerical value. In the Talmudic literature only one example of this kind is, so far, known, and this is the homiletical interpretation that Abraham did not pursue the four kings with 318 followers,¹⁴⁸ but only with his one servant known by the name of Eliezer and that the number 318 refers to אליעזר, having the same numerical value.¹⁴⁹ This case of gematria is quoted in the *Baraita of 32 Middot* as an example of the numerical gematria occurring already in the Bible. While we do not believe it to be so old, it certainly is of Tannaitic origin, as the Baraita citing it is,¹⁵⁰ and it certainly was known to the Jews of the first century A. D., as the Jewish Christians of that time frequently used it in their Greek literature. Thus we find in the *Epistle of Barnabas*¹⁵¹ a Christian modification

¹⁴⁵ Ed. Friedmann, 153b.

¹⁴⁶ Correct accordingly L. Loew, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 195, and Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie*, II, pp. 3, 248. Cf. also מנין האותיות in *Tanhuma*, ed. Buber, p. 34. In the commentary of R. Moses ha Darshan (c. 1025), quoted by Rashi, *Numeri*, VII, 18f, the phrase בנימטריא occurs twice; see A. Epstein, *ר' משה הדרשן*, Wien 1891, p. 19. This phrase is, of course, tautological, as מנין אותיות is the exact translation of בנימטריא. R. Moses ha Darshan and Rashi, however, might have used here the word בנימטריא in the meaning "it amounts to, it is equal." Cf. still above, p. 90, note 140.

¹⁴⁷ See Bacher, *אוצר ישראל*, III, 280.

¹⁴⁸ As literally reported in *Genesis*, XIV, 14; see also *ib.*, XVII, 27.

¹⁴⁹ See *Pesiqta of Rab Kahana*, ed. Buber, 70a; *Nedarim*, 32a; *Bereshit Rabbah*, chap. 44; *Baraita of the 32 Middot*, quoted above, p. 90, note 140.

¹⁵⁰ See hereafter, p. 95, note 173.

¹⁵¹ The earliest of the *Apostolic Fathers*, of c. 70–79; see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, III, 118.

of the same Rabbinic interpretation. This *Epistle*, which "exhibits, on the one hand, an astonishing familiarity with the Jewish rites, and, on the other, shows an anti-Judaic spirit of great bitterness,"¹⁵² interprets (in IX, 7f) the number 318 of Abraham's men, by the gematria of the Greek alphabet, as referring to Jesus and the cross. The Greek T, the symbol of the cross, has the value of 300, and 18 is the number of IH. Another instance of the same kind of gematria is preserved in the New Testament. The *Apocalypse of John*, also called *Revelation*, is the last book of the New Testament canon, "yet in fact one of the oldest; probably the only Judaeo-Christian work which has survived the Paulinian transformation of the Church . . . It remains, under its Christian cloak, a Jewish document."¹⁵³ The date of the composition of the book is placed before 70 A. D., as the preservation of the temple is foretold.¹⁵⁴ Now in this book¹⁵⁵ the gematria is referred to with the characteristic¹⁵⁶ words: "Here is wisdom. He that has understanding, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man: and his number is 666." Most of the scholars are agreed that the number 666 refers to the name of Nero (54-68), which, written in Hebrew, נרון קסר, gives the number 666.¹⁵⁷ Even the ancient variant, reading 616

¹⁵² Kohler in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, II, 538.

¹⁵³ Kohler in *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, X, p. 390 and 396a.

¹⁵⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXIII, 214a.

¹⁵⁵ *Revelation*, XIII, 18.

¹⁵⁶ See above, p. 90.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXIII, 214a, 218a; 14th ed., II, 101; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, X, 394; Cantor, I, 127; Smith, *History of Mathematics*, II, 54. As a matter of curiosity, especially for the reader interested in American Jewish Bibliography, I would like to mention that the first Hebrew letters printed in the city and in the province of New York deal with the gematria of the number of the beast, 666. In George Keith's, *Truth Advanced*, New York, 1694, p. 154, the number 666 is interpreted as referring to "the false Church allegorically signified by Tyrus or Tsur, whose Numerical Letters in Hebrew contain 666." On the margin there this is illustrated by: Keith's book is the first volume printed in the province of New York to contain Hebrew characters; see A. S. W. Rosenbach, *An American Jewish Bibliography*, p. 9-10.

ת	=	400
ס	=	60
ו	=	6
ך	=	200

instead of 666, may be explained as denoting Nero, written in Hebrew without the *nun*, נרו קסר, in conformity with the Latin form of the name. Several other scholars, however, accepted 616 as the original reading and contended that it denoted Caligula,¹⁵⁸ and that chapter XIII was part of a Jewish apocalypse written under Caligula between the years 39 and 41.¹⁵⁹ Similar cases of gematria are also given in the Sibylline oracles, where certain names are alluded to by a kind of a puzzle. Thus the name Jesus is expressed by the puzzle that it has four vowels and two consonants that sound alike and that its number is 888.¹⁶⁰ Another name, not yet deciphered with certainty, is alluded to in the same manner, by giving the number of the consonants and the vowels and the gematria of the word, which reads: "And of the entire sum the hundreds are twice eight and thrice three tens along with seven," i. e. 1697.¹⁶¹ At any rate we may be justified to say that the evidence for this kind of gematria is to be found in Jewish sources of the first and second century A. D.

(b) A word is interpreted as pointing to the number indicated by its numerical value. For example, השטן equals 364. This indicates that the Satan has the power to accuse only on 364 days of the year. On the day of atonement he is silenced.¹⁶² Or, Abraham (אברהם=248) had the moral mastery of all his 248 limbs.

(c) One word is interpreted as pointing to another word of the same numerical value. For instance, הכסף=165=העץ. Hence הכסף, the money remitted to Haman, foreshadowed העץ, the

¹⁵⁸ ΤΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ=616 in the gematria of the Greek alphabet.

¹⁵⁹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXIII, 218. Hence Cantor, I, 125, says that certain traces of gematria are not to be found before Philo; see hereafter, p. 95.

¹⁶⁰ See *Oracula Sibyllina*, I, 326–30; M. S. Terry, *The Sibylline Oracles*, p. 30. Ἰησοῦς=888.

¹⁶¹ *Oracula Sibyllina*, I, 144–45. Terry, *loc. cit.*, p. 21, says that the nearest solution of the puzzle is found in the word ἀνέκφωνος, which, however, amounts only to 1696. Klatzkin in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, II, 1149, quotes the number as 1660 and explains it as referring to Μονογενής.

¹⁶² *Pesiqta of Rab Kahana*, ed. Buber, 176a, §162; Yoma 20a; *Nedarim* 32b.

gallows on which he was to be hanged.¹⁶³ The great majority of all the cases of gematria belong to the class b. The instances occurring in the Talmudic literature were all collected by S. Waldberg in his *דרכי השניים*.¹⁶⁴ There were several variations and modifications of this class, and especially the homiletic and cabalistic literature of post-Talmudic times display a hybrid growth of this kind of gematria and of the gematria in general, as giving ample room to the free play of imagination. These later developments were ably discussed by Levias,¹⁶⁵ and we may therefore leave them out of our discussion.

(3) History and Origin

With regard to the history and origin of the gematria we have thus to distinguish the various kinds and phases of the art. (a) The permutative gematria, the *at bash* in particular, is very old. It occurs already in passages of the Bible belonging to the Babylonian exile (586-37 B. C.).¹⁶⁶ (b) The numerical gematria may also be very old and go back to the time of the Sopherim, or earliest Masoretes, flourishing c. 300-200 B. C.¹⁶⁷ The fact that the permutative gematria was already in use in the sixth century B. C. supports the assumption of an early age of the numerical gematria, too.¹⁶⁸ However, the earliest documentary evidence for its actual use is to be found only in Greek passages of the Jewish-Christian literature belonging to the first century of our era.¹⁶⁹ The theories claiming to have found traces of numerical

¹⁶³ See *Esther*, III, 11; *Esther Rabbah* VII. Similarly, the name "Taxon" in the *Assumptio Mosis*, IX, 1, is generally interpreted as referring by its gematria to some other name of the same value; see R. H. Charles, *The Assumption of Moses*, p. 35f; E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen*, II, p. 326. A very happy explanation was related to me by Professor L. Ginzberg. His suggestion is: Taxon = תַּחֲסֵן = 530 = מַחֲי הַכֹּהֵן.

¹⁶⁴ Lemberg 1870, ff. 73-82.

¹⁶⁵ *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, V, 589-92; see also Horodetzki in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, VII, 170ff.

¹⁶⁶ See above, p. 85-86.

¹⁶⁷ See hereafter, p. 103, note 209.

¹⁶⁸ See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, V, 589.

¹⁶⁹ *Revelation*, *Epistle of Barnabas*, and *Sibylline Oracles*; see above, p. 92-93.

gematria in the Bible¹⁷⁰ are to be dismissed as mere speculations without any sound basis.

Cantor (I, p. 125) says: "Gesicherte Spuren von Gematria finden sich nicht vor Philo von Alexandrien." This rather vague statement has only sense if interpreted that there are certain traces of gematria in the works of Philo. Unfortunately, Cantor has not quoted the passages, and the writer was unable to find such traces in Philo.¹⁷¹ Most probably, Cantor thought of the passage in *Revelation*, XIII, 18, and of the theories ascribing this chapter to the time of Caligula and Philo (39–41 A. D.).¹⁷² There can be no doubt that the gematria was known already to the Tannaim, and its occurrence in Tannaic sources is to be regarded as an established fact. The *Baraita of the 32 Middot* is of Tannaic origin,¹⁷³ and the *Mishna, Abot*, III at the end, clearly refers to gematria, and there is no reason to assume, with Bacher and others,¹⁷⁴ that here, exceptionally, it has the meaning of geometry. The probability is that at the time of the Tannaim, in the 2nd century A. D., the alphabetic numerals were already in common use, while the Aramaic numerals became obsolete. The Aramaic numerals were alien, international symbols, whereas the alphabetic numerals had a national and religious character, being connected with the letters of the holy language and script. It is characteristic for the spirit of that time that the international numerals disappeared before the national ones. The international numerals were rational, secular, commercial. The national numerals became holy and sacred, participating in the religious character of the alphabetic letters. In religious life there prevails a certain law of contagion. Everything that touches an unclean

¹⁷⁰ See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, V, 589; Cantor, I, p. 44.

¹⁷¹ Nor does Professor L. Ginzberg, an authority on the subject, whom the writer interrogated, know of any references to gematria in Philo.

¹⁷² See above, p. 93, note 159.

¹⁷³ See Ginzberg in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, II, 520. The same opinion is also held by Dr. H. G. Enelow who is now preparing a new edition of the *Baraita*.

¹⁷⁴ See above, p. 88 and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, VII, 170f. Cf. also Ch. Taylor's edition of *Pirke Abot*, I, Cambridge 1897, pp. 22 and 62. Taylor has the reading גימטריא instead of גימטריה. In the second volume, p. 154, he brings additional variants to the passage.

object becomes impure and defiled. What touches the sacred thing becomes sacred. In the case of the alphabetic numerals, the profane numerals had touched the sacred letters, the rational numbers had touched religious words. Thus the numerals and numbers became sacred things, and in the gematria a new sacred arithmetics was developed, a mysterious, cabalistic theory of numbers.

§16. The Numerical Function of the Final Letters

One aspect of the later development of the gematria still remains to be discussed, and this is the mode of expressing the numbers 500–900 through the final letters כמנפ"ץ. In contrast to the Greek alphabet, which has 27 letters and is thus adapted to the representation of the nine units, tens and hundreds, the Hebrew alphabet laboured under the disability of having only 22 letters and hence lacking the symbols for the last five hundreds. in Talmudic times the deficiency was supplied by the combination or addition of the hundreds.¹⁷⁵ Later on, in the time of the Masoretes (c. 900) the attempt was made to introduce the five final letters for the expression of the numbers 500–900.¹⁷⁶ This method, however, did not find general recognition and has soon fallen into disuse.

On first blush the temptation lies near to assume that the final letters were originally introduced to express the numbers 500–900,

¹⁷⁵ ת"ק=500; ת"ר=600; ש"ח=700; ח"ת=800; ק"ח=900. In Syriac literature "the hundreds from 500–900 are represented by the corresponding tens, ܐ, ܡ, ܥ, ܦ, ܨ, over which a point is placed for distinction's sake. This point, however, is often wanting; yet the numerical value is generally quite clear from the mere order of the ciphers. . . . For 500–800 combinations with ܐ frequently occur also. For the thousands the units may be placed, where the order of the ciphers gives them to be recognised as indicating thousands; a small oblique stroke is sometimes set below them as a distinguishing mark;" see Th. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, London, 1904, p. 316–17, and cf. also J. Uhlemann, *Grammatik der Syrischen Sprache*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1857, p. 4.

¹⁷⁶ ܕ=500; ܡ=600; ܝ=700; ܗ=800; ܥ=900. Horodetzki in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, VII, 178, is mistaken when he describes the values as ܡ=500; ܝ=600 . . . ܕ=900. He was misled by the word ܕܡܢܦ"ץ.

in imitation of the Greek method, as they have no other function at all. Upon closer examination, however, this assumption must be disclaimed.¹⁷⁷ The origin of the final letters finds its satisfactory explanation as a survival of the archaic forms of these letters. Originally the letters ק ף ף were closed by a perpendicular line. This line was later bent toward the left in order to perform a ligature with the next letter. However, when the letter stood at the end of the word, this change was not necessary, and the final letters retained their original downward stroke.¹⁷⁸ The use of the final letters was known and common already from the beginning of the Christian era.¹⁷⁹ R. Mattia ben Ḥeresh (c. 150 A. D.) refers to the special shape of the final letters as to an old Mosaic tradition.¹⁸⁰ The general opinion in the Talmud¹⁸¹ is that the final letters were introduced by the prophets. These statements, however, must not be taken literally, as the final letters cannot be earlier than the introduction of the square script itself, which, according to the Talmudic sources, did not take place before the times of Ezra¹⁸² (c. 444 B. C.). At any rate, the final letters were well known to the teachers of the Talmud, their form was regarded as an old, sacred institution, and their preservation was secured by the ritual law that a Tora scroll where the distinct form of the final letters is neglected is unfit for public use

¹⁷⁷ This theory was already expressed by J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, third ed., I, p. 175, quoted by L. Blau, *Zur Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*, p. 105, note 1. However, Eichhorn does not reject this theory, as Blau *ib.* contends, but, quite to the contrary, he later declares it to be beyond any doubt. Thus he says in the fourth edition, Göttingen 1823, I, p. 255–56: “Endlich ist es nicht mehr Vermutung, sondern beinahe ausser allen Zweifel gesetzt, dass die Finalconsonanten in den älteren Zeiten die Stelle der Zahlbuchstaben vertreten haben.” By this fact he tries to explain some of the discrepancies in the numbers between the masoretic text and the septuagint.

¹⁷⁸ In the case of the ך the original bent stem was curved upward and completely closed. See Lidzbarski in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, I, 443; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, 1910, p. 27, note 2.

¹⁷⁹ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, II, 420; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁰ *Yer. Megillah*, I, 9, f.71d משה מסיני הלכה אמרו מנצפ"ך

¹⁸¹ *Yer.*, *loc. cit.*, *Babli Shabbat* 104a.

¹⁸² Blau, *loc. cit.*

at the religious services.¹⁸³ And yet in the entire Talmudic literature there is no mention of the special numerical value of the final letters. Quite to the contrary, in some of the cases of gematria quoted above (p. 93), as f. i. **השטן, אברהם, נרון, הכסף, נרון, העץ**, we have direct evidence that the final letters had the same numerical value as the letters at the beginning or in the middle of the word. If the special value of the final letters were known already at that time, then **השטן** would be 1014 instead of 364 etc.¹⁸⁴ The later attempts of the Masora to use the final letters for the representation of the numbers 500–900 proved to be a failure, which was natural indeed, for two reasons. First, because the value of the final letters was already established by tradition and usage and could not be changed. The same reason may also be responsible for the failure of the Talmudic teachers to assign higher values to the final letters. Obviously, the gematria was older than the origin of the final letters, and the representation of the numbers 500–900 through combination was already established by tradition. The second reason against the introduction of the final letters as special numerals was of equal importance. According to the general principle prevailing in almost all the systems of notation, and also in the Hebrew system, the higher numeral always precedes the lower one.¹⁸⁵ We write, f. i., 145 or **קמ"ה** first the hundreds, then the tens and then the units. If, therefore, the final letters were to be used for 500–900, then the number 536, f. i., would have to be written **קל"ז**, 955 would be **קנ"ה**, that is, the final letters would have to be written at the beginning of the number word, the final letters would become initial letters. A procedure which would be not only unnatural, against the very nature and function of these finals, but, in a sense, also illegal, against the religious law prescribed for the

¹⁸³ *Yer. Megillah, loc. cit.* For further literature on the final letters see Blau, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁴ This fact was kindly called to my attention by my friend, the eminent Talmudist, Dr. Saul Gitelsohn of the Jewish Theological Seminary Library. Cf. also hereafter, p. 101–103.

¹⁸⁵ This is the so-called "Gesetz der Grössenfolge," the law of the sequence of the magnitudes, first formulated by Hankel; see Cantor, I, p. 14, and the passages cited in the index.

Tora scrolls.¹⁸⁶ In order to avoid this difficulty, some of the later Masoretes wrote the final letter at the end, f. i. ול"ך for 536, or הנ"ץ for 955.¹⁸⁷ This method, however, constituted a violation of the law of numerical notation that the higher numerals always precede the lower ones. Thus there was a conflict between the graphic and the numerical principle that could not be harmonized. Hence the wonder is not so much that the innovation of the Masoretes failed to find recognition, or that it has not been introduced earlier, but quite to the contrary, the wonder is that the Masoretes should have ventured to propose such an innovation.

The earliest evidence for the use of the final letters as special numerals is found in two masoretic documents of the beginning of the tenth century. Ben Asher (c. 900) in his דקדוקי הטעמים¹⁸⁸ fixes the number of the verses of the Pentateuch as 5845 and uses as a mnemonic the numeral ה"ף מ"ה. To avoid the above mentioned difficulty he divided the numeral into two words ה"ף מ"ה. The first represented 5800, the second 45. Thus the final letter ף stood at the end of the word and the hundreds preceded the tens.¹⁸⁹ On the same page he uses also the final ם for 600. Saadia Gaon (892–942) in his masoretic poem¹⁹⁰ אהל מכון בניני indicates

¹⁸⁶ See above, p. 97.

¹⁸⁷ See hereafter, p. 106f.

¹⁸⁸ Ed. Baer and Strack, Leipzig 1879, p. 55.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. also hereafter, p. 106.

¹⁹⁰ Some scholars questioned the authorship of Saadia Gaon and ascribed the poem to a certain Saadia, the alleged son of the French Tosaphist Joseph Bekhor Shor, living at the end of the twelfth century. The main authority for this school is the reading סעדיה בן רבינו בכור שור in the תעלומות חכמה, 196a, of Joseph Delmedigo (1591–1655). The existence of this alleged Saadia Bekhor Shor, however, is very dubious, and the authorship of the Gaon is to be regarded as an established fact. See Bacher in *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, II, 649, X, 481b; Poznanski in *RÉJ*, LII, 56, note 3, and in his מבווא על חכמי צרפת מפרשי המקרא, p. LVI, note 2; Liber in *RÉJ*, LIV, p. 80. See especially Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, pp. 339–40 and 154–57, on the various editions of the poem and for a learned discussion and the final decision of the question of the authorship. Professor I. Davidson quotes the poem in his *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, I, No. 1685. In his corrections, vol. IV, he, too, ascribes it to Saadia Gaon. Professor Davidson was kind enough to call my attention to the discussion in Malter's book. The by-name *Bekhor Shor* was assigned to several men called Joseph, on account of Dt. 33, 17, like the by-name Tam to Jacob, or

the number of the letters in the Bible by the initial letters of the first verse of each strophe. For instance, the letter ג occurs in the Bible 29,537 times. The verse in the poem reads גברים כעצם טורן כן להם זור. The initial of the first word exhibits the letter ג referred to. Of the following initials כ"ט indicate the thousands, 29000, by a kind of place value, and ל"ז give 537. Here arose the difficulty of starting a word with the final *kaph*. Saadia betook himself to a somewhat unusual expedient. The word was written with the initial *kaph* כן, but in front of it the final ך was placed to indicate that it is to be regarded as a final *kaph*, when taken as a numeral.¹⁹¹ However, the use of the final letters as specific numerals was not entirely restricted to the Masoretes. They appear also in the other fields of literature but their occurrence is extremely rare. Thus in the calculations of the calendar, where the operation with numbers, and especially with larger numbers, is so often required, the special values of the final numbers are, as a rule, never employed. Only two exceptions may be recorded here. Thus we find again Saadia Gaon, in his controversy with Ben Meir,¹⁹² once using מט"ף for 1049¹⁹³ Much later we find a specimen in the preface of Eliezer Bellin Ashkenazi to his 'Ibronot,¹⁹⁴ where we read יששכר לרקיע קבעו

Aryeh to Yehudah; see Porges, *Joseph Bekhor Shor*, p. 8. There were also other people known as Joseph Bekhor Shor; see Poznanski, מבוא, pp. LVII–VIII, LXXIII; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 34f; Liber, *RÉJ*, loc. cit. Hence, in the writer's opinion, the reading in the העלמות חכמה is simply to be explained as referring to Saadia Gaon, but instead of בן יוסף he uses the phrase בן בכור שור. For another example of the use of the final letters by Saadia see hereafter note 293.

¹⁹¹ Cf. the commentary of Elia Levita in his edition of the poem at the end of his *Massoret ha Massoret*, Venice, 1538, or ed. Ginsburg, London, 1867, p. 269ff., where an English translation of the commentary is given.

¹⁹² See Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, pp. 69ff, 409ff.

¹⁹³ See Epstein in *RÉJ*, XLII, 1901, p. 194, and Bornstein in the Jubilee volume for N. Sokolow, p. 78. Professor Marx was kind enough to call my attention to this note of Epstein in the *RÉJ*. More than a quarter of a century ago Marx had an occasion to call Steinschneider's attention to the same note of Epstein, who was the first to prove that the special values of the final letters were used already by Saadia; see Steinschneider in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1893, p. 69 and 71, and in *MGWJ*, 1905, p. 79, 1906, p. 483. Cf. also above, note 190.

¹⁹⁴ Offenbach 1722, and also other editions.

תת"ף חלקים לשעה, שנ' בני יששכר יודעי בינה לעתים, עתים בנימטריא תת"ף. In all likelihood, the words בנימטריא תת"ף are the gloss of Eliezer Bellin or of some other medieval writer, and do not belong to the original text of the tradition ascribed to Samuel.¹⁹⁵ The gloss is missing in the *Ibronot* of Marcaria and in the quotation of the *Yuhasin*. But, as mentioned in note 195, it occurs already in the Muenster edition, and according to Steinschneider¹⁹⁶ also in the MS. Hamburg. Were we to assume that the words עתים בנימטריא תת"ף were already contained in the tradition ascribed to Samuel, and that this tradition is a genuine old teaching, i. e. that it really emanated from the Amora Samuel (c. 200 A. D.) or was already contained in the old Baraita compiled by Samuel,¹⁹⁷ then, of course, we would have to change our whole theory concerning the origin of the final letters and their special numerical values. In that case, we would have, firstly, to regard the early origin of the special numerical values of the final letters, reaching back to the time of before 200 A. D., as a proven fact. Secondly, we would have to admit the possibility of the hypothesis, mentioned above p. 96–97, that the final letters were originally introduced by the old Masoretes, around or before the beginning of our era, for the

¹⁹⁵ In the עברונות of Jacob Marcaria, Riva di Trento, 1560, the same tradition is quoted as an anonymous Baraita חלקים תת"ף קבע ברקיע יששכר תת"ף חלקים. In the עברונות edited by Sebastian Muenster in *Kalendarium Hebraicum*, (Hebrew title חכמת המולות), Basel 1527, the reading is, on p. 56: הנה קבלנו מרבותינו: שחת"ף חלקים יש בשעה וכן תניא בברייתא דשמואל ירחינאה, כשעלה יששכר ברקיע קבע שחת"ף חלקים יש בשעה שנ' מבני יששכר יודעי בינה לעתים, עתים בני תת"ף אלף ושמונים חלקים בשעה, שנ' מבני יששכר יודעי בינה לעתים, עתים בני תת"ף ירחינאה. The reading תנא occurs also in the *Ibronot* in MS. Hamburg, No. 294 of the *Catalog der hebraeischen Handschriften . . . zu Hamburg* by Steinschneider, Hamburg, 1878, p. 123. The *Yuhasin*, ed. Filipowski, p. 41a, has בברייתא של שמואל. Cf. also Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, p. 248, and Steinschneider in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1893, p. 71.

¹⁹⁶ *Loc. cit.* in the preceding note. On the origin of the 1080 parts of the hour see Dr. Banet in *חכמני*, II, Berlin, 1911, p. 31f., and Savasorda in his *ספר העבור*, ed. Filipowski, p. 37. What Banet says seems, essentially, to be contained in Savasorda's words.

¹⁹⁷ The tradition is not to be found in the Talmudic literature nor in the so-called Baraita of Samuel ha Qatan.



purpose of expressing the numbers 500–900.¹⁹⁸ On the other side, however, we would have to assume further that this knowledge of the numerical function of the final letters remained, for 1000 years, an esoteric secret of the masoretic schools, unknown to all the teachers of the Talmud,¹⁹⁹ who, in their ignorance of the real origin of the final letters, regarded them as an old sacred legacy of great religious importance. An assumption which, to the writer, seems to be highly improbable. The writer's opinion, therefore, is that the words **עתים בנימטריא חתר"ף** are a later gloss.

A further tacit supposition of the familiarity of the Talmud with the numerical function of the final letters is to be found, implicitly, in the explanation of the permutation system of **אָבֶּה**,²⁰⁰ as given by Nathan ben Yehiel (1035–1106)²⁰¹ and his contemporary Rashi.²⁰² According to these authorities, two letters, the sum of which amounts to 10, 100, or 1000, may, by the method of **אָבֶּה**, be substituted for each other. These letters are: **ד"ו**, **ג"ז**, **ב"ח**, **א"ט**, **א"ט** = 10; **מ"ס**, **ל"ע**, **כ"פ**, **י"צ**, **י"צ** = 100; **ק"ץ**, **ר"ף**, **ת"ם**, **ש"ן**, **ש"ן** = 1000. The letters **הנ"ך** have no counterpart, hence they, especially **ה"נ**, are exchangeable, too. Therefore, the word **מנון** is taken in the Talmud as meaning **סדה**, a witness.

The fact, however, is that, usually, **אָבֶּה** is confined to the units and tens only.²⁰³ The commentary attempting to extend the system to the hundreds, **ת"ם**, **ק"ץ**, **ר"ף**, **ש"ן**, **ש"ן**, must be spurious, as it is contradicted by the very passage of the Talmud which it tries to interpret. If the final letters, representing the hundreds, were included in the original system of **אָבֶּה**, then the corresponding word for **מנון** would be **סדהש** and not **סדה**, as the counterpart of the final *nūn* is *shīn* and not *hē*. The supercommentaries

¹⁹⁸ This would account for the fact that the knowledge of the numerical function of the final letters was preserved and finally divulged by the later Masoretes of c. 900 A. D.

¹⁹⁹ With the only exception of Samuel.

²⁰⁰ **אטב"ח**; cf. also above, p. 86, note 116.

²⁰¹ In the '*Arukh*, v. **אטב"ח**; ed. Kohut, I, p. 59.

²⁰² *Sukkah* 52b.

²⁰³ **ק"ח**, **ר"ש**, **א"ט**, **ב"ח**, **ג"ז**, **ד"ו**, **י"צ**, **כ"פ**, **ל"ע**, **מ"ס**. Sometimes, the letters **ק"ח**, **ר"ש** are also included, though their sum amounts only to 500; see Rabbi Hananel and Rashi, according to the reading of **ל** *מדרש*, to *Sukkah* 52b.

of Luria (1510–73) and Edels (155–1631)²⁰⁴ have already called attention to this difficulty. The writer regards it as an irrefutable proof of his opinion that the original *aṭbaḥ*, in the Talmud, was confined to the units and tens only.²⁰⁵ This opinion is also confirmed by the exposition of *aṭbaḥ* given in *Exodus Rabbah*²⁰⁶ and by R. Ḥananel.²⁰⁷ In addition to that, it was already recognized by the critical mind of S. Luria that the text in Rashi is not genuine, but taken from the '*Arukh*. The correct reading in Rashi is in agreement with R. Ḥananel, omitting the reference to the final letters. Luria's reading is also confirmed by the MS. Munich and by the text of Rashi in the first edition of the *עין יעקב*; cf. *דקדוקי סופרים* ad locum.²⁰⁸

The later Masora²⁰⁹ apparently preferred to abandon the

²⁰⁴ מדרש'א and מדרש'ל.

²⁰⁵ The explanation of Heilperin, *הנוטריקון*, Wilna 1912, p. 16, note, is untenable.

²⁰⁶ Chapter XV, ad לבדר ישכון "הן", *Numbers*, 23, 9.

²⁰⁷ In his commentary to *Sukkah* 52b.

²⁰⁸ Further references in the posttalmudic literature to the final numerals are found in the Halberstam MS. of the *Sepher ha Mispar* of Ibn Ezra, ed. Silberberg, p. 1, note 13; in the *ביאור צורת האותיות* of Jehuda ben Salomo of Toledo (c. 1259), quoted by Steinschneider, *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1893, p. 69, and in *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, VI, p. 51; and also in *מדרש לקח טוב* II, p. 22. Cf. also *ZfHB*, VIII, p. 191, note 1; *REJ*, vol. 49, p. 235, note 3 (in the text *ib.* read מאות ה' instead of וכל ה' *ו*). While Levi placed the author Leontin at around the year 1000, Epstein in *MGWJ*, vol. 49, p. 557ff., proved that the text is from a pupil of Juda ha Ḥasid of the 12th century. This was kindly called to my attention by Professor Marx. This list, however, does not pretend to be exhaustive.

²⁰⁹ By the term "later Masora" the writer refers to the notes appended at the end of the printed books of the Bible, and in particular to the Masora collected by Jacob ben Ḥayyim and first printed by him in the second Bomberg edition of the Rabbinic Bible, Venice, 1524–25. However, the material used by Jacob ben Ḥayyim, especially that of the so-called numerical Masora, counting the numbers of the verses, words and letters in the whole Bible or in each book of the Bible, is very old. The earlier teachers of the Talmud (before 200 A. D.) already knew and practiced it, and the Amoraim thought that its origin goes back to the Sopherim, the scribes, flourishing after Ezra (c. 300–200 B. C.); see *Qiddushin* 30a. (It is interesting to note that at about the same time, in the Sūtra period of c. 500–200 B. C., the Hindus developed a similar kind of Masora. The Hindu Masora, called *Anukramanīś*, had also

numerical principle of the precedence of the numerals of the higher order. This abandonment of the basic law of numerical notation, however, gave rise to a great deal of confusion, misreading and misunderstanding. There was no more one general, recognized principle, but various contradictory methods of notation. Once, the units, preceding the tens, indicated the hundreds by a kind of place value, a rule which was also observed for the representation of the thousands. Another time, the numerical law was reversed, and we have the sequence of units, tens and hundreds. Sometimes again, we have tens, units and hundreds in the sequence of the numerals, in order to obtain a suitable word. In short, there were no more numerals but mnemonic words of the gematria. This will be demonstrated by a comparison of the numerals as given in the Masora of the first seven editions of the Rabbinic Bible, מקראות גדולות, which will be referred to as R1-R7,²¹⁰ and in the Bible edition of the masoretic scholar Ginsburg, representing the later Rabbinic Bibles, which will be referred to as G. I also collated the Pentateuch incunabula, Bologna 1482, Ixar 1490 and Lisbon 1491; the rare Pentateuch editions of Constantinople 1505, 1546,²¹¹ and 1547,²¹² Salonica 1520, and the Bible edition of Muenster, Basel 1534.²¹³

the function of preserving the holy text of the Vedas from loss or change. "One of these *Anukramanīs* states the total number of hymns, verses, words and even syllables, contained in the *Rigveda*;" see A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1900, p. 37-39, 271-72 and the Index s. v. Ibn Abbās (d. 688 A. D.), the founder of Koran-exegesis, numbered the verses, words and letters of the Koran. He had Jewish teachers and was called the "Arab Rabbi.") Levis, in *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, VIII, 366, suggests that the counting of the letters and words was originally undertaken by the scribes in order to estimate the amount of the work done by them and the payment of their wages. However, there is no means of ascertaining how old the use of the numerals in this Masora is. The earliest dated documents where the final letters as special numerals occur are from the beginning of the 10th century, as mentioned above.

²¹⁰ R1=Venice 1517; R2=Venice 1524-25; R3=Venice 1548; R4=Venice 1568; R5=Venice 1617-19; R6=Basel 1618-19 (Buxtorf); R7=Amsterdam 1724-28.

²¹¹ With Persian and Arabic translations in Hebrew characters.

²¹² Prepared by Soncino, with Greek and Ladino translations in Hebrew characters.

²¹³ All extant in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Some of the early editions still give the number of the verses in words only, not in numerals. This is the case in the editions of Bologna 1482,²¹⁴ Lisbon 1491, R1,²¹⁵ and Constantinople 1522. In the Pentateuch Ixar 1490, we first find at the end of each book the regular numerals for the number of the verses. I, א"ך ל"ד = 1534; II, אר"ט = 1209; III, נט"ף = 859; IV, ארפ"ח = 1288; V, חתקנ"ה = 555.

In the following the writer desires to cite the variations with regard to those numerals in which the final letters are used.

(1) At the end of Genesis the number of the verses, 1534, is indicated by א"ך ל"ד in all the editions quoted above as using numerals. The difficulty of having a final letter in the middle of the word was avoided by the division into two words.²¹⁶ Now the book of Kings has also 1534 verses. There, however, the six Rabbinic Bibles, R2-R7, indicate the number by אהל"ד. In this numeral, the letter 'ה, standing before the tens, denotes the hundreds.²¹⁷ R1 and the Muenster edition, Basel, 1534, have ת"ח חשל"ד, and G. has the gematria אשרי הגוי. No edition is known to the writer that would have the numeral א"ך ל"ד in Kings. Apparently, this variation is due to the desire of having a different numeral, or mnemonic, for each of the two books. This desire for variation seems to demonstrate that the words were regarded as mnemonics rather than as numerals.

²¹⁴ With the exception of *Deuteronomy*, where the numeral ק נה is given for 955; see hereafter.

²¹⁵ Words but no numerals are used in Pentateuch and Joshua; no Masora at all in Judges, Samuel and Psalms; the numerals ת"ח חשל"ד in Kings and י"ח in Proverbs.

²¹⁶ In this connection it should be remarked here that the subsequent text in R1, reading ואותיותיו ד' אלפים ושלוש מאות וחשעים וחמשה פ"ה ימל"ה סימן is corrupt and obviously absurd. The whole book contains 1534 verses. If the number of the letters were 4395, then the average number of letters to the verse would amount to less than three, which is absurd. And yet this impossible reading was repeated in about a dozen of different editions of the Bible. The correct reading is to be seen in G. The number of the letters is 4448 and it refers to פרשה ויחי alone. The number of the verses in this Parasha is 85; פ"ה is the numeral, and ימל"ה is the mnemonic. Read ימל"ה סימן פ"ה.

²¹⁷ See hereafter, p. 107.

(2) The number of the verses in Leviticus, 859, is given in the Rabbinic Bibles R2–R7, G, and also in Ixar 1490 by נט"ף. The placing of the final letter at the beginning is avoided; the reversal of the law of the "Groessenfolge" would give a kakophonic word טנ"ף, "to soil, defile"; hence the euphemistic word נט"ף is chosen. However, the sequence of tens, units and hundreds can no more be regarded as a numeral; it is a mnemonic of gematria.

(3) In the edition of Bologna 1482, the number of the verses in Deuteronomy is still indicated by נה ף, where the final *šadē* stands as a word by itself, removed from נה. This is a numeral, but it violates the graphic principle. Hence it is avoided in all the later editions. R2–R7 and G have הני"ץ. Ixar 1490 has תחקנ"ה, and Lisbon 1491 has, in words, the number 1055.

(4) At the end of Deuteronomy there is also the Masora of the number of the verses in the whole Pentateuch. This number was originally given by Ben Asher as 5845 and also denoted by the numeral ה"ף מ"ה, as mentioned above (p. 99). Now it is worthy of note that in all the early Bible editions²¹⁸ the numeral is dropped, and the number is given in words only. Besides that, the number varies in the various editions. Bologna has 5835. Lisbon 1491 and Constantinople 1546 have the number 5955. This variant is to be explained by the number 955 given at the same place for the verses in Deuteronomy. This may also be the source of the variant 5945 given in Basel 1534, Constantinople 1522 and 1747. R2 has 5845, but R3–R7 have 5245. This was perhaps caused by the misreading of ה"ף מ"ה as הרמה. In the later editions of the Hebrew Bible, however, we find the correct number of 5845 and the numeral החמה²¹⁹ in which the letter ח, standing before the tens, signifies 800. This instance is quoted

²¹⁸ Bologna 1482, Lisbon 1491, R1–R7, Basel 1534, Constantinople 1522, 1546, 1547. In ed. Ixar 1490 this Masora is missing altogether.

²¹⁹ The earliest evidence of החמה for 5845, known to the writer so far, is to be found in the preface of Leusden to the *Biblia Hebraica* ed. Joseph Athias Amsterdam 1667, fb2 verso. In the first Athias edition, *ib.* 1661, it was not yet mentioned, as Leusden did not yet deal with the numerical Masora in that edition. Hereafter the numeral החמה occurs also in the *Biblia Hebraica* of J. H. Michaelis, Halle 1720, in the edition of J. Simonis, *ib.* 1752, and in the later Rabbinic Bibles, as f. i., Vienna 1794, Dubrovno 1804 etc.

by Nesselmann²²⁰ as the first step taken by the Hebrews toward the introduction of the place value. Joseph Carlebach²²¹ goes one step further and says that this instance would justify the conclusion that the Masoretes of the 8th and 9th century were already familiar with the notation system of the place value. The writer is unable to subscribe to these theories. The words חמ"מה and אהל"ד (see above p. 105) are two isolated cases. They are mnemonics rather than numerals. The letters ה and ח, used to represent the hundreds, are employed only to substitute the awkward final letters. No instance is known, where the units would be used to represent the tens or the first four hundreds. Besides that, we saw that the earliest evidence of החמה occurs in the preface of the Christian Professor Leusden, written in 1667, and the earliest evidence of אהל"ד is found in the Rabbinic Bible of 1524.

(5) The number of the verses in Joshua, 656, is indicated in R2, R7 by סנ"ו, which is the corruption of מנ"ו, as people misunderstood the final *mim* in the beginning of the word. R6 has correctly מנ"ו, G. reads ותר"ן. R1 has words but no numerals.

(6) Judges has 618 verses, which is indicated in R2 by ח"ס, a corruption of ח"ם. R6, R7 read correctly ח"ם. G. again abandons the numeral with the final letters and cites the mnemonic ירא"ו א"ת. In R1 this Masora is missing.

(7) Samuel has 1506 verses, which number is given in R2 by אור"ד, again a corruption of אור"ך. G. has אשר"ו. R6, R7 read correctly אור"ך. In R1 the Masora is missing.

(8) The number of the verses in the Psalms, 2527, is expressed in R2, R6, R7 and G by א"א כו"ך. In talmudic times the thousands were expressed by words, as in the Aramaic papyri, mentioned above §8. Later, the thousands were indicated by letters with dots, preceding the hundreds. Here we have two *aleph* א"א instead of ב' for 2000.

(9) The number of the verses in Proverbs, 915, is indicated by יה"ק in R2, R6, R7. But R1 and G have חקט"ן. Through all

²²⁰ *Die Algebra der Griechen*, p. 494.

²²¹ *Levi ben Gerson als Mathematiker*, Berlin 1908, p. 111, note 14.

the confusion and lack of consistency, we may notice that in the later editions, represented by G., the tendency prevails to discard the final letters as special numerals, as well as the numerals in general, and to use instead the gematria of mnemonic words. Yet Elia Levita (1468–1549) still expounds the theory of the numerical function of the final letters²²² and so does his disciple, the Christian Hebraist Sebastian Muenster.²²³ Abraham Portaleone of Mantua (1542–1612) has a very interesting excursus on alphabetic numerals in Hebrew, Greek and Latin,²²⁴ where he proposes a method for the expression of even billions and trillions through the Hebrew alphabet. He achieves his end by employing the final letters for 500–900, 'א for 1000, "א for one million, etc.²²⁵

§17. Spread of the Alphabetic Numerals

These new alphabetic numerals with a decimal character apparently deviated from the strict numerical equivalent of the alphabetic order. The eleventh letter is no more eleven, but twenty, the twelfth letter is no more twelve but thirty etc. This constituted a radical innovation and an important step towards the development of a new system of numerical notation. This new invention must be claimed for the Greeks and not for the Hebrews. For about six centuries (c. 450 B. C.—150 A. D.) we find abundant evidence of the decimalia in Greek documents, but none in Hebrew documents. The alphabetic decimalia appear first in the inscription of Halicarnassos of c. 450 B. C., then come two inscriptions from the ruins of a Mausoleum of Halicarnassos that belong to c. 350 B. C. After 300 B. C. we find these numerals already in common use in the countries

²²² מסורה המסורה, Sulzbach, 1771, f. 12; ed. Ginsburg, p. 136.

²²³ *Kalendarium Hebraicum*, Basel 1527, p. 1 and 3. In the last passage Muenster says that the final letters are only rarely used, and confesses that it caused him a great deal of trouble till he found out why the value of תמים amounts to 1080.

²²⁴ In his שלשי הנבחרים, Mantua 1612, 174b–75b.

²²⁵ Cf. also the Syriac method given by Uhlemann, *Grammatik der Syrischen Sprache*, 2nd ed., p. 4, and the Greek method transmitted by Camerarius (c. 1540) and quoted by Nesselmann, *Die Algebra der Griechen*, p. 81.

ruled by the successors of Alexander the Great.²²⁶ Among the Phoenicians no traces of alphabetic numerals are to be found.²²⁷ Nor did the Romans ever use the letters as numerals. The Hebrews and Syrians were the first to adopt this system of notation and to adapt it to their alphabet.²²⁸ The Copts, the native Christians of Egypt, adopted the Greek alphabet together with its numerical values. The Ethiopians did not attach numerical values to their own alphabet,²²⁹ which, as may be noted in this connection, exhibits a particular arrangement entirely different from the usual alphabetic order and revealing no plausible principle at all. Instead, they used the Greek letters as pure numerals without phonetic values. The Armenian alphabet, while based upon the Greek, introduced several new phonetic symbols of its own, so that it has altogether 36 letters. Following the Greek example, they use the first nine letters for the units, the second group of nine for the tens, the third group for the hundreds and the fourth group for the thousands. The Arabs have an alphabet of 28 letters.²³⁰ They changed the old order of the Semitic alphabet in favor of a new morphologic principle. However, the numerical values of the old Hebrew alphabet were none the less retained. The six letters that they added of their own served to represent the numbers 300–1000. This Arabic system of alphabetic numerals was apparently not developed before 699, at which time, as we know, the caliph ‘Abdu-l-Malik at Damascus forbade the use of the Greek language in the bookkeeping of the treasury of the caliphate, but permitted the use of the Greek alphabetic numerals, since the Arabs had no convenient number notation.²³¹ On the other side, it is hard to believe that

²²⁶ See Larfeld, *Handbuch*, I, p. 425f.; *Griechische Epigraphik*, p. 298f.; Keil, *Hermes*, vol. 25, 1890, p. 615.

²²⁷ See Cantor, I, p. 123; Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik*, p. 206.

²²⁸ For the following lines cf. Hallo in ZDMG, vol. 80, 1926, pp. 55–67.

²²⁹ Cf. the differing opinion given by Taylor, quoted above, §13, p. 79, note 87.

²³⁰ See §13, p. 79, note 87.

²³¹ See Cantor, I, p. 709; Smith-Karpinski, p. 64, note 1; Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra*, Heidelberg, 1917, p. 39–40. This command of the caliph was the cause of the invention of the diacritical marks by the secretaries of al-Hajjaj. Before the introduction of these diacritical marks the Arabic

the Qoreish of Mekka, who long before the time of Muhammad had carried on a lively trade between Yemen, India and China and the shores of the Mediterranean, should have possessed no numerals at all.

The Persians and Turks took over the Arabic alphabet with its numerical values. The few letters that were added by them (like the p) were not used as numerals. Canon Taylor²³² thinks that the Hindu cave numerals which are proved to be the ancestors of our present Hindu numerals have originally been letters derived from the Indo-Bactrian alphabet, and that they were used as the initial letters of the number words. Some other scholars believe that they were used as the alphabetic numerals. But there is no certain basis for these theories.²³³ Even after the invention of the new Hindu numerals the Hebrews continued for a long time to use the nine letters ו—ט, as substitutes for the Hindu symbols, with place value and zero. A similar system was current among the Byzantines of the 15th century, who used as digits the first nine letters of the Greek alphabet with a special symbol for zero.²³⁴ Alphabetic letters with place value but without zero were also used for a long time in southern India and they are even yet in use there for remembering rules to calculate horoscopes.²³⁵ Similarly, the Hebrews in their religious works up to the present day use only the alphabetic numerals and almost all the Rabbinic books have on their title page and in the preface some euphemistic word to indicate the date of print by its numerical value. Thus everything, even certain forms, struggles for its life, but only the fittest survive, and such were the Hindu-Arabic numerals.

alphabet, having only 15 characters for 28 distinct letters, was hardly fit for writing and entirely unfit for representation of numerals.

²³² *The Alphabet*, p. 264; see also p. 266–68.

²³³ See Smith-Karpinski, p. 31–32.

²³⁴ See P. Schub in the *Isis*, vol. 17, 1932, p. 59–60. Schub thinks that Mordecai Comtino (Constantinople 1402–1482) was perhaps the first to introduce the new Hindu numerals into a Hebrew text.

²³⁵ See Smith-Karpinski, p. 40. O'Creat (c. 1100) used the Roman characters with place value and zero, e. g.: III. III = 33; see *ib.*, p. 120.

IV. Conclusion

§18. Words, Letters and Numerals

What are words? They are sounds, audible symbols for the things and happenings of the world. There was a time when people tried to represent those things by visible symbols, as gestures, grimaces and picture writing. But words proved to be more convenient. The eye-language disappeared and the ear-language survived. What are letters? Visible symbols of the audible symbols of the visible world around us. Both together, the words and the letters, a combination of the ear and eye-language, conquered time and space and helped build the structure of human tradition and history. In our modern numerals we have visible symbols for numbers and quantities. They are the first step in the growth of the system of mathematical notation. Thus for certain aspects and qualities of the phenomena the visible symbols disengaged themselves from the audible symbols and became independent. The eye-language was proved to be better fitted than the ear-language for the construction of an exact and economic system of international communication.

A somewhat similar attempt to extend the symbolic notation of the eye-language is now being made by Dr. Otto Neurath in the Museum of Social and Economic Science established at the Vienna Rathaus. The Museum exhibits nothing but statistics which are presented by pictographs. Neurath calls his pictographs "Sachbilder," or fact pictures. What he has invented is a system of hieroglyphics, or picture-writing, which is as intelligible to a Japanese or a Turk as it is to an American or a Frenchman. The main feature in the pictograph is its appeal to the eye and its international character.²³⁶

²³⁶ See the report in *The New York Times Magazine*, January 22, 1933, p. 9.

A List of a few Abbreviations in the Literature quoted.

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MGWJ = *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

OLZ = *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung*.

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ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*.

ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina Vereines*.

ZfHB = *Zeitschrift fuer Hebraeische Bibliographie*.

THE TWO MEKILTAS

JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH

The tannaitic Midrash to Exodus which in amoraic and gaonic times formed a part of the *Sifre* or *Sifre debe Rab*¹ came in later gaonic times to be described as "The Tractates on the Book of Exodus" *מכילתא דרואלה שמות*.² It was so described because its characteristic feature is that it consists of "tractates" *מסכתות*,³ dealing with groups of laws contained, or events recorded, in the book of Exodus. In the course of time this description of the Midrash became its special designation.⁴ This special designation *מכילתא* was then given also to another tannaitic Midrash to Exodus, in contents similar to the first one, though we cannot

¹ Even in later medieval times the Mekilta was regarded by many authorities as part of the *Sifre*. See Lauterbach, *The Name of the Mekilta*, in *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. XI (Philadelphia 1920) pp. 179–182. To the authorities, cited there, who refer to our Mekilta under the name of *Sifre*, are to be added the following: Joseph Kara in his commentary to the Book of Kings, published by S. Eppenstein in *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft*, volume XIII (Frankfurt a. M. 1920) p. 27, quotes the passage found in the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael, Pisha XII [ed. Lauterbach, vol. I (Philadelphia 1933) p. 93] and adds the remark: *כך היא שנויה בספרי* "Thus it is taught in the *Sifre*." The Tossafists in their commentary on the Torah, *הדר זקנים*, (Leghorn 1840) p. 29b, quote the passage which is found in the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael, Pisha XIII, (Lauterbach, vol. I, p. 99) and introduce it by: *אמרו בספרי*. "They say in the *Sifre*."

² *Halakot Gedolot* at the end of *הלכות הספד* (editio Vienna 1810) p. 106a; *חורתן של ראשונים* published by Ch. M. Horowitz in *סידור פשוט של ימים טובים* (Frankfurt a. M. 1881) p. 43; and R. Judah b. Barsilai in his commentary to the *Sefer Jezirah*, ed. Halberstam (Berlin 1885) p. 14. Also in a Genizah fragment containing statements of Saadya Gaon, cited by Harkavy in *Hakedem I* (1907) p. 127. Comp. Lauterbach, *The Name of the Mekilta*, pp. 173–174.

³ See Lauterbach op. cit. pp. 192–193.

⁴ See *ibid.* p. 193.

ascertain whether it likewise was arranged according to tractates.⁵ Possibly a slight misunderstanding, on the part of some authorities, of the designation מכילתא given to the one Midrash, brought it about that the same designation was also attached to the other. The word מכילתא forming the designation given to the one Midrash actually was a plural form to be read *Mekilata*, meaning "the tractates" and referring to the nine tractates of which the Midrash is composed. Some authorities, however, mistook the word מכילתא for the singular form *Mekilta* and understood it as referring not to the tractates composing the Midrash but to the Midrash as a whole, designating it as a single tractate or collection of midrashic comments to Exodus.⁶ And when they found a gaonic statement, speaking of "The Tractates on the Book of Exodus" מכילתא דואלה שמו or מכילתא דואלה שמו, in which the form מכילתא was unmistakably plural, they understood it to refer not to the tractates of the one Midrash but to the two distinct tannaitic Midrashim on the book of Exodus. The plural form *Mekilata*, so they understood, simply meant the two *Mekiltas*; the singular form *Mekilta* designated either of the two Midrashim. Thus the name *Mekilta* came to serve as a designation for each one of the two distinct Midrashim to Exodus. Rabbinic authorities when citing either one of these two Midrashim would therefore, in most cases, add to the name *Mekilta*, common to both Midrashim, a descriptive word or title indicating which of the two *Mekiltas* was meant or referred to.

Of these two tannaitic Midrashim to Exodus, called by the same name *Mekilta*, the one, usually designated more specifically as the "*Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael*," has been preserved to us as a separate and complete work in the form and the arrange-

⁵ As the other Midrash has not been preserved to us in its entirety, it is impossible to ascertain according to what plan it was arranged.

⁶ See Lauterbach op. cit. p. 194 note 23. Joseph Bonfils in his commentary on Ibn Ezra, צפנה פענח, edited by D. Herzog (Heidelberg; part I, 1911; part II, 1930) also seems to have understood the name מכילתא as a singular form; hence he translates it by the Hebrew מכתב. In part I. p. 229, referring to a passage found in the *Mekilta*, he states that it is found במסכת. See Herzog's note ibid. l. c. Herzog is not correct when he assumes (ibid. l. c. and in his Introduction p. XXXVI) that Joseph Bonfils did not know the *Mekilta*.

ment given to it by its final redactor.⁷ The other, frequently referred to by medieval authorities as "Another Mekilta" מכילתא אחרת⁸ or "The Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai," has not been preserved to us in its entirety. The work, in the form and scope given to it by its redactor, has been lost. Only fragments of it have been preserved in various compendia and in quotations found in works by medieval authors. From these fragments and quotations Dr. David Hoffmann has reconstructed a large part of the work and published it under the title "Mechilta de Rabbi Simon b. Jochai."⁹

The titles "Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael" and "Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai" do not, however, indicate that the two teachers were the respective authors or originators of the works to which their names were attached, even though some rabbinic authorities may have so understood these descriptive titles. Most likely these additional titles were not intended to point to the respective authors or originators of the two Mekiltas. They merely meant to designate each Mekilta more specifically by mentioning, in each case, along with the term Mekilta the name of the teacher mentioned in its opening sentence.¹⁰

Neither one of these two Mekiltas to Exodus began with the very beginning of the book of Exodus, i.e., with ואלה שמות¹¹ (Exodus 1:1). The Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael began, as in our editions, with Exodus 12:1¹² and the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai began with the third chapter of Exodus which deals with

⁷ See Lauterbach, *The Arrangement and the Division of the Mekilta in Hebrew Union College Annual I* (1924) p. 434, and *Introduction to his Mekilta edition* (Philadelphia 1933) pp. XXVIII-XXIX.

⁸ See D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midrashim* (Berlin 1887) p. 46 and I. Lewy, *Ein Wort über die Mechilta des R. Simon* (Breslau 1889) p. 3ff.

⁹ Frankfurt a.M. 1905.

¹⁰ See Lauterbach, *The Name of the Mekilta* p. 195 and Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die Mechilta de-Rabbi Simon b. Jochai* (Frankfurt a.M. 1906) p. 6.

¹¹ See Lauterbach, *The Arrangement and the Division of the Mekilta* p. 434, and comp. I. Lewy op. cit. pp. 14-15.

¹² See Lauterbach *ibid.* l.c. for reference to medieval authorities who designate Ex. 12.1 as the beginning of the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael.

the revelation given to Moses from the thorn-bush. Thus since the two Mekiltas began with two different chapters of the book of Exodus they could be distinguished from one another by their opening chapters. In other words, one could, in each case, add to the term Mekilta an indication of the subject treated in the opening chapter. Indeed, some medieval authorities do so differentiate one Mekilta from the other. They designate the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai, which in its opening chapter deals with the revelation from the thorn-bush סנה, Aramaic סניא, "The Mekilta of the Thorn-bush" מכילתא דסניא.¹³ Thus R. Salomo ben Ha-Jathom in his commentary on the tractate Moed Katon פירוש מסכת משקין, ed. H. P. Chajes, (Berlin 1909), p. 31 gives the reference for a Mekilta passage which he quotes, and which he found in both Mekiltas, by saying: "As it is found in the Mekilta Desanya and in the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael." כדאיתא במכילתא דסניא ובמכילתא דרבי ישמעאל. The passage in question is found in the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael (Bahodesh xi, ed. Friedmann 73a; Lauterbach II, p. 284) and is not found in Hoffmann's edition of the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai. But R. Salomo did find it also in the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai which he calls Mekilta Desanya. Chajes,¹⁴ who was the first one to recognize the identity of the Mekilta Desanya with the Mekilta de R. Simon b. Johai, correctly points out that the passage in question referred to by R. Salomo is also found in *Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy* (ed. Hoffmann, p. 54) and originally had its place in the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai, though Hoffmann did not embody it in his edition of the latter work.¹⁵

R. Hillel b. Eljakim also designates the Mekilta de R. Simon b. Johai as Mekilta Desanya. In his commentary on the Baraita

¹³ They could not very well designate the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael which begins with החדש הזה לכם (Exod. 12.1) as מכילתא דהחדש, since such a designation would have led to a confusion of the Mekilta with the Pesikta which likewise contains a section beginning with החדש הזה לכם. As it is, the two works, Mekilta and Pesikta, are sometimes mistaken for one another and passages from the Pesikta are cited as coming from the Mekilta. See Appendix, No. 10.

¹⁴ In the Introduction to his edition of R. Salomo's work, p. XXII.

¹⁵ Comp. also J. N. Epstein, סניא, מכילתא דסניא in Tarbiz III. (Jerusalem 1932) pp. 378-79.

of R. Ishmael (ed. A. Freimann in *Livre D'Hommage A La Mémoire Du Dr. Samuel Poznanski* (Warsaw 1927) Hebrew part p. 178) he says: וממאי דתני בסניא והיה לכם למשמרת וגו' ר' עקיבא אומר נאמר כאן שמירה ונאמר להלן שמירה מה שמירה האמורה כאן דהיינו פסח שיהו מבקרין אותו ג' ימים קודם שחיטה אף שמירה האמורה להלן דהיינו בת ג' שנים [צ"ל ימים] קודם שחיטה. This saying, though in a slightly different form and not in the name of R. Akiba, is also found in the *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael* (Pisha V ed. Lauterbach (Philadelphia 1933) p. 39 and ed. Friedmann 5b). R. Hillel therefore indicates that he does not refer to the latter but that he quotes from the other *Mekilta*, the one designated as דסניא. This passage, exactly as quoted by R. Hillel, is found in the *Midrash Hagadol to Exodus* (ed. Hoffmann p. 95) and no doubt belongs to the *Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai*, even though it is not found in Hoffmann's edition. Again (*ibid.* l. c.) R. Hillel says: ואשכחן נמי בנין אב מארבעה כתובים דתנן בסנייא¹⁶ ובריש בבא קמא לא השור כהרי המבעה דמייתי בנין אב מד' אבות נזיקין השור והבור והמבעה וההבער בהצד השוה. This passage is found in the *Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai* (Hoffmann p. 142). And since part of this saying is also found in the *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael* (Nezikin XIV end) R. Hillel who quotes the fuller statement points out that he refers to the passage as found in the *Mekilta* designated דסניא and not as it is found in the *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael*.

Another authority who designates the *Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai* as *Mekilta Desanya* is the Karaite Judah Hadassi. In his *אשכול הכופר* (*Eupatoria* [1836] p. 36a he says: וכן כתיב במכילתא דסיניא [read דסניא¹⁷] החדש הזה לכם וגו' מלמד הראהו הלבנה באצבעו ואמר לו כזה ראה וקדש לראשי חדשים וזה מעשה המנורה הראה למשה מנורה וכן זאת החיה, וזה לכם הטמא הראה לו חיות ושרצים ודגים.

This passage is found in the *Midrash Hagadol to Exodus* (Hoffmann p. 92), introduced by תני רשב"י¹⁸ and no doubt belongs

¹⁶ This is the correct reading. See Epstein *op. cit.* p. 377, note 3. The reading בסנייא in Freimann's edition is a mistake. A. Schwarz, *Die Hermeneutische Induktion* (Vienna 1909) p. 38, note 1 quotes: דתני בספרא which is also a mistake. The passage is not found in *Sifra* and R. Hillel did not quote it from *Sifra*.

¹⁷ See Chajes *op. cit.* l.c.

¹⁸ See Chajes *op. cit.* l.c. note 2. The passage is also found in the *Pesikta d. R. Kahana* (Buber 54b).

to the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai, though it is not found in Hoffmann's edition of the latter. Since the passage in a slightly different form is also found in the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael (Pisha II. ed. Lauterbach p. 16 and Friedmann 2b), Hadassi indicates that he does not refer to the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael but to the other Mekilta, designated as דסניא.

A Mekilta Desanya is also mentioned in a book list found in a manuscript in the Library of Leningrad, as reported by A. Harkavy in Rahmer's *Literaturblatt* VII, (1878) p. 43. The item reads: מכילת דסניא הלכות מכחצרה, and Harkavy translates it: "Ein Halachot enthaltendes Compendium der Mechilta." It is more correct, however, to translate it: "A Mekilta (designated) Desanya, containing Halakot." This, no doubt, refers to the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai, which, as we have seen, is designated דסניא because its opening chapter deals with the revelation from the thorn-bush סנה Aramaic סניא.

That the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai actually began with the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai, ¹⁹פרשת הסנה Exodus 3:1 as in Hoffmann's reconstructed edition is implicitly attested by R. Jacob b. Hananel of Sicily, author of the ילקוט תלמוד תורה in manuscript. R. Jacob of Sicily is one of those authorities who designate both tannaitic Midrashim to Exodus just by the name Mekilta without any additional description. In his Yalkut to Genesis²⁰ he quotes passages from both Mekiltas giving in each case merely the reference מכלילתא without further specifying which of the Mekiltas he refers to. In those cases, however, in which the quotations are from the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael the reference מכלילתא is followed by the word פרק, written out in full, and an accompanying numeral, indicating in which chapter of the Mekilta²¹ the passage cited is found. It is different, however, in those cases in which the quotations are from the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai. The following three Mekilta quotations in the Yalkut

¹⁹ Comp. also J. Mann, *Texts and Studies* I. (Cincinnati 1931) p. 646 and note 24 on p. 664.

²⁰ The Ms. of this part of the Yalkut Talmud Torah is found in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

²¹ He considers the whole Mekilta as one single tractate. See Lauterbach, *The Arrangement and the Division of the Mekilta* op. cit. p. 456ff.

Talmud Torah to Genesis are from the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai: In the section לך לך he quotes the following passage: מעולם לא יצא עבד או שפחה ממצרים בן חורין אלא הגר בלבד שנאמר ויצו מלך מצרים ויהי עבדו ויהי עבדו ויהי עבדו and עליו פרעה אנשים וישלחו אותו is given as the reference. This passage is actually found in the very opening paragraph of the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai (Hoffmann p. 1). The abbreviation 'פר', following the reference מכילתא in the Yalkut Talmud Torah, must therefore stand for פרשה ראשונה or פסקא ראשונה,²² thus indicating that the passage cited is in the very first section of the Mekilta from which it is quoted, i. e., the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai.

To Genesis 49:1 he quotes the following passage: האספו ואנידה לכם מה עשה השליך מקל לפנייהם ונעשה נחש ואחזו בו ונעשה מקל והוציא ידו לפנייהם ונעשית כשלג חזר והכניסה לחיקו ונעשית כבשרו אמר להם יודע אני שמצריים משעבדים אתכם ראו שאם יבא אדם ויטעה אתכם ויאמר לכם הגיע זמן אל תאמינו בו ואם יעשה לפניכם כאותות האלה [האמינו בו] וכשבא משה ועשה לישראל אותות האותות מיד האמינו שנאמר ויעש האותות לעיני העם ויאמן העם. The reference for this passage is given as ומכילתא. The passage is also found in Midrash Hagadol to Exodus (on the verse Exodus 4:30, Hoffmann p. 42) and Hoffmann (ibidem note 5) remarks that he could not find the source of this saying מאמר זה לא מצאתי. But there is no doubt that its source is the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai which R. Jacob of Sicily calls simply Mekilta. Again to Genesis 50:25 he quotes as follows: והעליתם את עצמותי מזה אתכם אמר להם יוסף קברו אותו בכל מקום שתרצו שכן מקובל אני שאיני [שאין] נכנס במערה ליקבר בה אלא ג' אבות מכילתא and וג' אמהות דכתיב אשר כריתי לי כי²³ [בן] הוא פוסק as the reference. This passage is from the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai. It is quoted by Nahmanides in his Pentateuch-commentary to Genesis 49:31 and introduced by: וראיתי במכילתא: on the basis of which Hoffmann has embodied it in his edition (p. 39–40). But R. Jacob of Sicily calls this Mekilta simply מכילתא.

²² The Mekilta de Rabbi Simon was divided according to chapters, פרשיות, or sections, פסקאות; see Hoffmann, p. 137, note 4.

²³ The corrections in brackets are according to the readings given by Ramban.

R. Israel Ibn Al-Nakawa in his *Menorat Ha-Maor*²⁴ likewise quotes passages from both Mekiltas giving in each case merely the reference *מכילתא* without further specifying to which of the two Mekiltas he refers.²⁵

So also does R. Moses b. Levi Najara in his commentary on the Pentateuch *לקח טוב* (Constantinople 1571). He quotes passages from the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael introducing them merely by *ואמר במכילתא* "It says in the Mekilta" and he also quotes passages from the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai and likewise introduces them merely by *ואמר במכילתא* "It says in the Mekilta."²⁶

Thus we see that many medieval authorities do not distinguish at all between these two tannaitic Midrashim to Exodus but call both of them merely by the name Mekilta without any additional description. We also find that even authorities who in most cases do distinguish between these two Mekiltas by calling the one "Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael" or merely "Mekilta" and the other "Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai" or "Another Mekilta" are not always consistent in so differentiating them. They occasionally drop these additional descriptions and refer to the Mekilta of Rabbi Simon b. Johai also by the name Mekilta alone.²⁷ Now, since so many medieval authorities in so many instances use the name Mekilta also to designate a Midrash to Exodus other than the one usually called "Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael," it would seem absurd to look only in the latter work for all quotations for which medieval authorities give "Mekilta" as the source. How can one assume that by "Mekilta" they referred only to the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael when, as we have seen, in many instances they used this name to designate another work? We certainly have no right to assume that those authorities who quote passages from a Mekilta which are not

²⁴ Edited by H. G. Enelow, vols. 1-4, New York, 1929-1932.

²⁵ For all the Mekilta quotations by Al-Nakawa, see Enelow, volume 4, Index, p. 130 and comp. Appendix, Nos. 7-11.

²⁶ See *לקח טוב* section *משפטים* 25d and 33b.

²⁷ E.g. Nahmanides in his commentary on the Torah, to Num. 25.29. Comp. I Lewy op. cit. pp. 3-4.

found in our Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael, had before them the latter work in larger form or scope.

In the first place it must be remembered that the term מכילהא, while it came to be used as a special designation for the two tannaitic Midrashim to Exodus, still retained its original meaning of tractate or compendium and could therefore denote any collection of halakic, or even agadic sayings. In fact, it is frequently used interchangeably with מסכת to refer to a tractate of the Mishnah or Tosefta, the Babylonian or Palestinian Gemara. Hence when medieval authorities quote a Midrashic passage and give מכילהא as its source we cannot say definitely that they had in mind either of the two Midrashim to Exodus, especially so designated. They may just as well have had reference to any collection of midrashic sayings which they designate as מכילהא, in the sense of tractate, or compendium. Thus in cases where we find two different authorities who quote the same passage, one giving as its source Mekilta and the other referring it to another work or to just a Midrash,²⁸ it is more likely that the one giving as his reference מכילהא meant by it the same midrashic work which the other authority gives as the source for the saying than to assume that there is a real conflict between the two authorities.

Likewise when we find an author who quotes a midrashic passage in one of his works and gives as its source מכילהא and in another work quotes the same passage and gives as its source another Midrash, it is most likely that in the one work where he gives מכילהא as the reference for the saying quoted, he uses the term מכילהא in the sense of tractate to designate the very Midrash named in the other work.²⁹

The same explanation would account for the fact that some authorities, quoting passages from the Pesikta, give as reference מכילהא.³⁰ They merely used the latter term in the sense of tractate or collection. In this case, however, it may also be that the authorities confused the two works Mekilta and Pesikta

²⁸ For illustrations see Appendix, No. 7.

²⁹ For an illustration see Appendix, No. 1.

³⁰ Comp. above note 13 and see Appendix, Nos. 3 and 10 for illustrations.

with one another, since each consists of a group of tractates or treatises *פסקאות* or *מסכתות*.

In some instances the reference to the Mekilta may be due to an error on the part of the author who quotes from a secondary source. Some authors frequently quote passages which they read only in the Yalkut, but instead of giving as their reference the Yalkut where alone they saw the passage, they give as reference the source whence Yalkut quotes. In some cases, however, the reference to the source for a saying is missing in the Yalkut. The author who quotes such a saying from the Yalkut and wishing to give the source of the Yalkut finds no reference to that source. He concludes—and in some cases, but not in all, such a conclusion is justified—that the source for this saying or passage is the same as the one given by the Yalkut for the saying immediately preceding. If the latter happens to be from the Mekilta, our author concludes that the passage following it was also quoted by the Yalkut from the Mekilta; he accordingly gives the Mekilta as the reference.³¹

Again in many instances a saying of the Mekilta has its parallel in another Midrash where, however, it is enlarged by some additions or elaborations. An author quoting the saying with these additions—or one of the additional sayings found in the parallel alone—and remembering part of the saying from the Mekilta, quotes the whole of it as coming from the Mekilta.³²

Thus, in many instances when passages not found in our Mekilta are quoted as coming from a Mekilta it is quite likely that the author giving the reference Mekilta either did not have in mind any of the two Midrashim to Exodus so designated but referred to another midrashic collection which he calls *מכילתא*, or he quoted second hand and had not actually seen the passage in question in the Mekilta itself.

But even in such cases in which there can be no doubt that the author in giving *מכילתא* as his reference had in mind a Midrash to Exodus so designated in which he actually saw the passage cited, we would not be justified in assuming that he referred to

³¹ See for an illustration Appendix No. 16.

³² See Appendix, No. 4 for an illustration.

that Mekilta which is usually designated as Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael and which has been preserved to us in complete form. He very likely had in mind the other Mekilta, the one frequently designated as the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai of which only part has been preserved to us and which in the parts lost to us may well have contained the saying quoted by that author.³³

³³ Comp. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midrashim* p. 47. Even in such cases where במכילתא דרבי ישמעאל is given as the source for a quotation, we cannot always be certain that the author, quoting the passage, had reference to the Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael. The author may have had in mind the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai. But his reference, written in abbreviation דר' יש was mistaken by a copyist for דר' ישמעאל and then understood to stand for דר' ישמעאל. In some cases the author may have used the term מכילתא in the sense of tractate or collection, and when he said במכילתא דר' יש he meant, "in a collection or tractate it is interpreted." But the word דר' יש "it is interpreted" was taken by some copyist for an abbreviation of דר' ישמעאל.

APPENDIX

The following is a list of passages quoted by rabbinic authorities as being from a Mekilta but not found in our Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael. It supplements the list published by M. Friedmann in his edition of the Mekilta (Vienna 1870), *הוספה שנייה* pp. 119–124. Both these lists, however, do not completely exhaust the number of such alleged Mekilta-quotations. Besides the passages cited in this list I have a list of ten other such Mekilta-quotations which, however, largely because of limited space, I cannot discuss here. And, of course, there may be other such alleged Mekilta-quotations which I have not come across. I limit myself in this list to such Mekilta-quotations as illustrate certain points or prove statements made in this essay. The passages are numbered and arranged in the chronological order of the authorities quoting them. Each passage is followed by a brief discussion as to whether the author, giving *מכילתא* as the source for his quotation had reference to either one of the two Midrashim to Exodus, known by that name, or merely used the term *מכילתא*, in the sense of tractate or collection, by which he designated some other midrashic work.

(1) Rashi in his commentary to Malachi, 1, 1 says: *מבאן דרשו רז"ל בבריתא דמכילתא שכל הנביאים עמדו בסיני ושם נמסרו להם כל הנבואות* וכן ישעיה אמר מעת היותה שם אני וגו' *מדרש אנדה* to Isaiah 48, 6 quotes this passage as coming from *מדרש אנדה* ר' תנחומא. Evidently when in his commentary to Malachi he gives as the source of this saying *מכילתא* he simply means "A Baraita in a midrashic collection" and refers to the Midrash Agada of R. Tanhuma which he quotes in his commentary to Isaiah.

(2) R. Joseph Kara in his commentary to Kings, ed. Eppenstein in *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft* XIII; (Frankfurt a.M. 1920) p. 47 cites the following midrashic saying: *טיפה שיצתה מאותו הצדיק מיכיהו שהיכה חבירו הכה ופצוץ כפרה* and adds to it: *כן מפורש במכילתא*. This saying is not found in the Mekilta nor in any other Midrash known to me (Comp. Eppenstein's remark *ibid.* l. c. note 5). Kara evidently

used the term מכילתא to designate some compendium or Midrashic collection and not the Mekilta de R. Ishmael. The latter work Kara considered as part of the Sifre and mentions it by the name Sifre. See above, note 1.

(3) R. Samuel b. Meir רשב"ם, in his commentary on the Torah, ed. D. Rosin (Breslau 1881) p. 88, commenting on Exod. 6, 14, says מפרש במכילתא אילו שלשה שבטים שנייה אותם יעקב בעת צוואתו ייחסם הם עתה הכתוב להודיע שחשובים הם. This saying is not found in our Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael. It is found in Midrash Hagadol to Exodus (Hoffmann p. 53) and belongs to the Mekilta de Rabbi Simon b. Johai which Rashbam designates just by the name Mekilta. The saying is also found in Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann 28b). Possibly Rashbam used the term מכילתא in the sense of a midrashic collection and refers by it to the Pesikta Rabbati.

(4) R. Moses b. Nachman רמב"ן in his commentary on the Torah, Exod. 12, 31 says: וכך אמרו במכילתא ויקרא למשה ולאהרן: לילה ויאמר קומו צאו אמר לו משה כך נצטוונו ואתם לא תצאו איש מפתח ביתו עד בקר וכי נגבים אנחנו שנצא בלילה לא נצא אלא ביד רמה לעיני כל מצרים. Only part of this saying is found in our Mekilta, Pisha XIII (Friedmann 13b; Lauterbach I, p. 100). The whole saying, in content exactly as given by Ramban though in wording and arrangement slightly different, is found in Midrash Thillim to Ps. 113.2 (Buber 235a). Ramban evidently quoted from Midrash Thillim (comp. Yalkut to Exod. paragraph 208 where the saying from Midrash Thillim, שוחר טוב, is quoted in the form cited by Ramban). But remembering part of the saying from the Mekilta, he quotes the whole saying as coming from the Mekilta.

(5) R. Shemtob b. Abraham in his מגדל עוז to Yad, הלכות לשון מכילתא אזהרה לגנוב נפש מנין ר' יאשיה אומר מלא IX גניבה תגנוב ר' יונתן אומר מלא ימכרו ממכרת עבד ולא פליגי מר קא חשיב לאו דגניבה ומר קא חשיב לאו דמכירה. In this form this Baraita is not found in our Mekilta. R. Shemtob quotes from Talmud Sanhedrin 86a where this Baraita with the Amoraic comment 'ולא פליגי וגו' is found. R. Shemtob either uses the term מכילתא

in the sense of Baraita (comp. Lauterbach, *The Name of the Mekilta*, op. cit. p. 186), or he uses it in the sense of *מסכתא* and refers to the *מסכת סנהדרין* of the Talmud. It is also possible that since the other Baraita following the amoraic comment *ולא לאו דמכירה* ... *פליגי* quoted there in *Sanhedrin*, is from the *Mekilta Bahodesh VIII* (Friedmann 70b; Lauterbach II. p. 260–61) R. Shemtob assumed that the first Baraita likewise was from the *Mekilta*.

(6) R. Jacob Asheri in his commentary on the Torah *Exod. 14.11* (Hannover 1838) p. 35d says: *לחת צעקו לה' למח* ובמכילתא מפרש שמתחלה צעקו לה' לחת בלב פרעה לשוב מעליהם וכשראו שלא היה חוזר וקרב אליהם אמרו לא נתקבלה חפלתנו ונכנסה בלבם להרהר אחר משה מאחר שנתנו שאור בעיסה. This passage is not found in our *Mekilta*. The passage in the *Mekilta Beshallah III* (Friedmann 28a; Lauterbach p. 209) reads only: *מאחר שנתנו שאור בעיסה*. R. Jacob Asheri here actually quotes the interpretation given to this short *Mekilta* passage by Ramban in his Torah commentary *Exod. 14.11* [Comp. also R. Tobia b. Eliezer in his *לקח טוב* to this verse (Buber p. 86) and the *Mekilta* commentary *ינחמנו* ad loc.]. And when he says: *במכילתא מפרש* he really refers to Ramban who so interprets the *Mekilta*.

(7) In R. Israel Al-Nakawa's *מנורת המאור* (ed. Enelow) II, p. 189, we read: *גורסין במכילתא ומי כעמך כישראל גוי אחד בארץ, שלשה מעידין זה את זה, הב"ה וישראל ושבת. הב"ה וישראל מעידין על השבת שהוא יום מנוחה, שנא' ושמרו בני ישראל את השבת לעשות את השבת לדורותם ברית עולם ביני ובין בני ישראל אות היא לעולם כי ששת ימים עשה ה' את השמים ואת הארץ וביום השביעי שבת וינפש. הנה בפסוקים האלה שמו של הב"ה וישראל מעידין שברא הב"ה את השמים ואת הארץ וביום השביעי שבת וינפש. ישראל ושבת בהב"ה שהוא אחד, שנא' ועל הר סיני ירדת ודבר עמהם מן השמים ותתן להם משפטים ישרים ותורות אמת חקים ומצות טובים, וכתיב ואת שבת קדשך הודעת להם ומצות וחוקים ותורה צוית להם ביד משה עבדך. הנה שישראל ושבת מעידין בהב"ה. הב"ה ושבת מעידין בישראל שהם יחידים באומות, שנא' והיה אם שמוע תשמעו בקולי ושמרתם את בריתי והייתם לי סגולה מכל העמים. הנה שהב"ה ושבת מעידין בישראל שהם יחידים באומות. Tossafot Hagigah 3b s.v. *מי כעמך ישראל* and Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim 292 quote this saying from a Midrash. Comp. also Shibbole Ha-Leket 126 (Buber p. 90). Al-Nakawa here uses the term *מכילתא* merely to designate a midrashic collection.*

(8) Ibid. p. 384 we read: כדגרסינן במכילתא ועניתם את נפשותיכם בתשעה לחדש, יכול בתשעה, ת"ל בערב, אי בערב יכול משתחשך, ת"ל בתשעה. הא כיצד, מתחיל ומתענה מבעוד יום, מכאן שמוסיפין מחול על הקדש. ואין לי אלא בכניסתו, ביציאתו מנין, ת"ל מערב עד ערב. This is found in Sifra Emor XIV (Weiss 102a).

(9) Ibid. III p. 222: כדגרסינן במכילתא בני אם תקח אמרי ומצותי תצפון אתך. אמ' הב'ה לישאל על הר סיני, אם זכיתם להצפין ולקבל תורתי ולעשות אותה אני מציל אתכם משלש פורעניות, ממלחמת גוג ומגוג ומחבלו של משיח ומדינה של גיהנם. In this form the passage is found in Midrash Mishle 2.1 (ed. Buber p. 48). A similar saying about the reward for observing the Sabbath is found in our Mekilta Vayassa (Friedmann 50b; Lauterbach II, Chapter V and p. 120).

(10) Ibid IV p. 208: וגרסינן במכילתא יתום לא ישפוטו וריב אלמנה לא יבא אליהם. ר' אלעזר אומר, בראשונה היה אדם מת בירושלים והיו ממנין אפטרופוס על היתומים, והיתה אלמנה תובעת כתובתה אצל היתומים, והם הולכים אצל הדיינים ומוצאין אותם עם האפטרופוס. וריב אלמנה לא יבא אליהם. א"ר יוחנן, בראשונה היה אדם עולה לדון בירושלים, והיה הדיין אומ' לו, בקע לי שני בקעיות של עצים, מלא לי שתי חביות מים, והיו יציאותיו כלים, והיה יוצא בפחי נפש. והיתה האלמנה פוגעת בו בדרך, ואומרת לו, מה נעשה בדיןך, והוא אומר לה כל יציאותיו לא הועילו לו כלום. והיתה אומרת, ומה אם זה, שהוא איש, לא הועילו לו כלום, אני, שאני אלמנה, על אחת כמה וכמה. This passage is found in the Pesikta d.R. Kahana (Buber p. 123a). But Al-Nakawa uses the term מכילתא to designate the Pesikta. In II p. 366 and III p. 76 he also quotes passages from the Pesikta and introduces them by גרסינן במכילתא. About the last two quotations comp. Friedmann op. cit. p. 123b.

(11) Ibid. IV p. 337: גרסינן במכילתא מעשה ברוכל אחד שהיה מסבב בעיירות, והיה מכריו ואומר, מי מבקש סם חיים. שמעה בתו של ר' ינאי, נכנסה לאביה והגידה לו. אמר לה, לכי קראי לו. כיון שבא, אמ' לו ר' ינאי, איזה כוס של חיים אתה מוכר. אמ' לו, כוס שאני מוכר אתה מוכרו. אמ' לו, אעפ"כ הודיעני. אמ', והלא כתי' מי האיש החפץ חיים אוהב ימים לראות טוב, נצור לשונך מרע ושפתיך מדבר מרמה. This passage is found in Tanhuma 5 (Buber p. 45). Al-Nakawa uses the term מכילתא, in the sense of a midrashic collection, to designate the Tanhuma Midrash.

(12) R. Solomo Alkabez in his מנות הלוי (Lemberg 1913) p. 79 quotes as follows: אמרו במכילתא תני בשם ר' נתן ד' אריות וג' דובים:

הכה דוד באותו היום דכתיב גם את הארי ארי הארי ואת הארי דוב הדוב וגם הדוב.
This passage is found in Midrash Shemuel ch. XX (Buber p. 54). Alkabez uses the term מכילתא, in the sense of a midrashic collection, to designate the Midrash Shemuel.

(13) In a Manuscript in the British Museum, quoted by Alexander Marx in J.Q.R. n. s. VII (1916–1917) p. 131, there is found the following passage: אלה תולדות נח קאל פי אל מכילתא. למה נאמר בנח איש צדיק אלא שהיו אנשי דורו כנשים. I could not locate this saying in any of the known Midrashim. The author no doubt uses the term מכילתא, in the sense of a compendium and midrashic collection. We certainly cannot draw any conclusions from this quotation as to the question whether there ever was a Mekilta to Genesis (comp. Enelow op. cit. IV, introduction p. 24, note 2).

(14) In the commentary on the Torah לקח טוב by R. Moses b. Levi Najara (Constantinople 1571) p. 36a we read as follows: ועוד איתא במכילתא למה נעשה מעצי שטים שהתורה נקראת עץ חיים שנאמר עץ חיים הוא וכו' ונתנה בתוכו ולמה צפהו זהב לפי שדברי תורה נחמדים מזהב. This passage is not found in either of our two Mekiltas. In Yalkut to Exod. paragraph 368 it is quoted from אלה הדברים זוטא. Najara no doubt uses the term מכילתא, in the sense of a collection, to refer either to the Yalkut itself, or to the אלה הדברים, quoted by the Yalkut.

(15) Ibid. p. 37a: במכלתא ואתה תצוה למדנו שהצווי מיד בשעת מעשה ולדורות מנין תלמוד לומר צו את בני ישראל ויקחו אליך שמן זית זך הא למדנו שהצווי מיד ולדורות מצווי הזה נמצינו לכל הצוואות שבתורה. This passage is found in Siphre Numbers 1 (Friedmann 1a) and Yalkut to Exodus 337 quotes it from Sifre. Najara probably quoted from the Yalkut for which he uses the designation מכילתא, in the sense of a collection (see preceding number). It is also possible that he quoted from the Sifre, but having noticed that many authorities call the Mekilta by the name of Sifre, he believed the two names to be interchangeable; hence he called the Sifre by the name Mekilta.

(16) In שער האהבה by R. Elijah b. Moses De Vidas ch. VI (Wilna 1911) p. 150 we read: וכן דרשו גם כן במכילתא על פסוק וישכם יהושע בבקר מלמד שרזין מקדימין למצות. This passage is

found in Yalkut to Joshua paragraph 13 on the verse 3.1, without any indication of its source. However, preceding it is quoted a saying from the Mekilta Pisha XI (Friedmann 11b; Lauterbach I p. 85-86) and following it there is another saying from the Mekilta Beshallah VI (Friedmann 31b-32a; Lauterbach I p. 237-38). Vidas quoted from the Yalkut. But finding this saying imbedded between the two passages from the Mekilta he concluded that this saying likewise had its source in the Mekilta and accordingly he gives as its source במכילתא.

THE ORDER OF THE HEBREW ALPHABET

C. LEVIAS

It has been shown by Martin Sprengling, who succeeded in deciphering the Sinai inscriptions, that some of the present names of the letters must have been introduced at a later time, when in the course of transmission the original pictograms had become unrecognizable; and that such later names have no reference to the original pictures. The possibility that even originally not all names agreed with the pictures was not considered by him. There is also no doubt that the order of the letters in the alphabet has undergone changes. An answer to the question what the original order was, and what the principle of its arrangement rests on, is dependent on a knowledge of the meanings of the names of the letters. This ascertainment is here attempted.

As a preliminary I am bound to make an excursion into Semitic phonetics, a subject still in its infancy. From the material I have gathered in an etymological study based on biconsonantalism, now appearing seriatim in the *Palestinean quarterly* לשוננו, under the title טיולים בשדה הלשון, we may learn, 'among other things, that the Semitic *t*, *k*, and *q* change sometimes on the one hand to *ḥ* or *ṭ*, and on the other hand, to *š*. Thus, we may have in one and the same language, or in the sister languages, double forms, where *š* and *ḥ*, or *ṭ* and *š* correspond. Moreover, since a *š* which results from *t* or *k* frequently appears as *š* also in Aramaic and Hebrew, we get the following equations:

Arabic	š ¹	Hebrew	ש	Syriac and later Aramaic	ܫ
Arabic	š ²	Hebrew	ש	Syriac and Aramaic	ܫ
Hebrew	š ¹	Arabic	س	Aramaic	ܫ
Hebrew	š ²	Arabic	ث	Aramaic	ܬ
Hebrew	š ³	Arabic	ش	Aramaic	ܫ
Aramaic	š ¹	Arabic	س	Hebrew	ש
Aramaic	š ²	Arabic	ش	Hebrew	ש

Just a few examples for illustration: Hebrew קשות Arabic قِثَاء; Syriac קטותא, cucumber; Hebrew תָּרָף, תָּרְפָה, Arabic ثَرَاب شافى-د ثاب. The root of Hebrew טוּטַח is in Arabic طَفَر, تَفَر, ثَفَر. (See my article "Who were the Amorites?" in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and related Subjects in Memory of A. S. Freidus*, N. Y. 1929).

Arabic شَرى-د كرى Hebrew and Aramaic שָׁבַב; Arabic شَبَّ-د كَب Hebrew כרה, Aramaic שָׂרָא Syriac שָׂרָא (see Manna, s.v. (שָׁקַל); Arabic قوى Hebrew כוּה, Aramaic שוּי-ד כוּי Hebrew כוּה, Aramaic שוּי-ד כוּי > קוּא.

From Arabic وَشَم = وشى = وشم we have two other by-forms: שוּמָה Hebrew שוּמָה Aramaic שוּמָה, whence شامة, شام, شام, and תוּי Hebrew תוּה. It is not unlikely than an אוּה is a third by-form (see Ges.-Buhl s.v.). Hence we have the nominal by-forms Arabic شِمْة = شِمْة = شِمْة = שִׁיח = שִׁיח, stigma.

It must also be remarked that the names of the letters, like the language of the Sinaitic inscriptions, present a mixture of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic. No such dialect has come down to us. It might have been Edomitic or Amalekite.

We return now to our subject. The names Alef, Beth, Dāleth, Wāw, Yōd, Kāf, Mēm, 'Ayin, Pê, Rêsh, Shin need no comment.

Gimel, usually equated with gamal, camel. The late Powis Smith suggested Accadian gamlu, sickle. Another name is Hebrew גִּמְלָה, Arabic جِمْ, Greek Γάμμα. We may see in it the Aramaic גִּמְלָה, pit.

He, Syriac הָא, Ge'ez Haw, Hawye, Hoy. Confer Arabic هَوّ, a by-form of كَوّ, window.

Zayin, Zayith, Greek, ζῆτα, offer no difficulty. An older name is זַי Arabic زَيْ, couple. This is probably the original name; as the picture is a couple of connected sticks.

Hēth, חֵת, Ge'ez Hawt. We may see it in Hebrew חֵי, tent-village, hamlet; or Arabic حَوّ, small pond.

Tēth, טֵת, may be connected with Arabic ثَيْتَة = ثَيْتَة, Amharic Tīt, fold, stable. Or with Tigray tēyt, box. Most likely it corresponds with Arabic شَيْتَة, sign. (See below.)

Lāmed. Usually connected with Hebrew מֶלֶךְ. In Gaonic literature and Samaritan לבר.


Nûn, Aramaic, Arabic نון, fish. The original name nāhaš, Hebrew נָחַשׁ, is preserved in Ge'ez.

Sāmech, Arabic سَمَك, fish.

Şâdê, Hebrew and Aramaic צִיד, Ge'ez şaddây. It might be a by-form of צִיד, hunter, fisher. I prefer to see in it a by-form of צֶדֶק, temple. The original name is preserved in the Greek Σάμπι, which is a Semitic צָנִיץ, Hebrew צִנְפָּה, convolute, corresponding to the figure of the numeral 8.

Qōf, Hebrew קוף, or קף, Arabic قَفَا, occiput. Compare Aramaic קרקה, head.

Tāw, תו, sign.

The pictogram of Taw is +, a cross. Tāw means here not simply sign, but the sign of life (see Ez. lx.4, 6). The sign of the cross has been since gray antiquity identified with the Egyptian , 'anḥ, life (see Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, s.v. Cross). The Têth is but a phonetic variant of Tāw, and its sign is also but a variant of the latter, being a cross within a circle. It has therefore the same meaning. Now, if we transfer the letters Teth, Yod and Kaf to between Samech and 'Ayin, we see that the letters fall into two groups: The first group, from Alef to Samech describe parts of the world, closing with Teth, i. e., a blessing for life and happiness. The second group begins with Yod and ends with Shin, describing the parts of the human body to characterize man, the world's inhabitant; again closing with Taw, a blessing or prayer for life and happiness.

Habent sua fata literae! With the Jews Teth stands for טוב, happiness; with the Greeks for θάνατος, death.

A NEW COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

A Recent Acquisition of the Library
of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

ALEXANDER MARX

In the last century when Jewish scholars became interested in the unpublished treasures of our past, a beginning was made in searching through the collections gathered in various libraries. New collections were formed, very largely from manuscripts found in Italy, although some dealers made successful trips to the East and brought important volumes from there. Steinschneider was justified in saying that the majority of Hebrew Mss. at some time or other had passed through Italy. At the end of the last century, however, the discovery of the Genizah opened up new chapters of our past and made us acquainted with never dreamt of information about the literary and spiritual activities of the Jews in Egypt, Palestine and Babylonia.

Elkan N. Adler had brought numerous Mss. from Persia and other parts of the globe rarely visited by book collectors before him. In recent years enterprising dealers who found that Italy had practically been emptied of important Mss. in the possession of private people, made systematic efforts to open up new sources of supply by extensive trips to the Orient. They were compensated by great, even startling discoveries.

A Vienna bookdealer, Mr. Jacob Halpern, for many years had been sending his representatives to far-away countries, like Yemen and Persia, and himself travelled through Asia Minor and North Africa. To the Mss. gathered in those parts of the world he added a collection brought together by that indefatigable, learned Rabbi I. M. Toledano.

In 1932 Mr. Halpern brought to this country his invaluable collection of over 1100 Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic Mss. Desirable as it naturally was to take advantage of the opportunity to

acquire that unique collection, it seemed impossible at the time to realize such an ambition. But a miracle happened: a generous donor who insists upon remaining anonymous realized the value of such an acquisition for American Jewish learning, and the collection was bought and presented to the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

The collection was gathered from all parts of the Orient. In Africa from Fez, Mequinez, Agadir, Oran, Algiers, Jerba (where the Jewish community of about three thousand souls is famous for its piety and learning and lives entirely isolated, away from all non-Jews), from Tripolis and Gardaia (in the Sahara, between Morocco and Algiers).

In Asia some of the choice Spanish Mss. were found in Tokat, Anatolia, where the Spanish exiles had taken them in 1492. Old cabbalistic Mss. come from Aleppo and Damascus, and, curiously, literary compositions of Frankfort Rabbis of the eighteenth century were bought in Palestine.

The Yemen literature, particularly well represented in this collection, was largely found in the ancient Jewish settlement in Sanaa, the capital of Yemen. It includes three private libraries, those of Rabbi Ibn Yahya, Solomon Busani and Musa Amr, together amounting to about 350-400 volumes.

Representing as it does the spiritual interests and cultural aspects of so different a group of communities, the collection naturally embraces every possible branch of Jewish literature, such as: Bible with commentaries, Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash; Codes and Responsa; Liturgy; Philosophy and Cabbala; Homiletics; Philology and Science.

In each Ms. a brief description by the bookdealer's partner Lipa Schwager is inserted. These descriptions are frequently misleading and occasionally the cataloguer suggests identifications which are entirely wrong. In some of the Mss. formerly belonging to Toledano the latter wrote helpful indications which, however, can not always be accepted.

I spent a considerable part of the summer of 1932 and some spare hours during last winter examining part of the collection.

In view of the fact that it is so rich in unusual items that in importance it is second only to the Adler collection and since a catalogue of it will not be available for many years, it occurred to me that a short description of it may prove useful, incomplete and inadequate though it is bound to be.

A fact which strikes one particularly is the wealth of books that come from Yemen. That distant country must have had much closer relations to other centers of Judaism around the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than has hitherto been suspected. The works of scholars of every country are represented, many of them very rare and even unknown. Thus there are several Mss. of a commentary on the Pentateuch by an otherwise unknown German scholar Rabbi Joel, largely consisting of *Gematriot* as we know them from the school of R. Judah he-Hassid. It is evidently the latter to whom the author refers in section *Miketz* as his forefather.¹ A collection of philosophic texts in German handwriting about which more will be said later, was rebound in Yemen.

Among the few printed books in the collection there is a unique copy of the third edition of Maimonides' Code, Constantinople 1509, printed on vellum, which was found in the interior of Yemen. A number of incunabula have been discovered in Yemen which were probably brought there in the early sixteenth century. Thus Dr. H. G. Enelow has a copy of the Mishna with Maimonides' commentary, Naples 1492, in which a Yemenite owner has corrected a number of passages in the Hebrew translation of Maimonides, evidently on the basis of Arabic manuscripts. I personally possess a fragment of the second part of this edition in which various treatises have been carefully revised in the same way. There are Mss. of books printed in Italy and Constantinople during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which were evidently copied from these editions; they must have been imported into Yemen.

The following notes will give some information about the various branches of literature represented in the collection:

¹ כך שמעתי בשם זקני החסיד.

BIBLE

More than one hundred Mss., all from Yemen, contain parts of the Bible; a good number of them are on vellum and very old; many have superlinear vocalization. Frequently the verses of the text are followed alternately by the Targum and Saadya's Arabic version. Besides the Masora several of the Mss. have on the margin Midrashic commentaries on the Pentateuch, partly in Hebrew and partly in Arabic, which require examination. Some of these Mss. have primitive but attractive illuminations. In a few of them Ps. 118 is written in all kinds of geometrical designs.

A gap in the Library was filled by a few Mss. of the Prophets with Targum. An old vellum copy of the Former Prophets begins with Judges 16, 17 and ends with II Kings 5, 24, every verse being followed by the Targum. A considerable portion of these books is also found in four old fragments, containing in all 66 leaves. The Later Prophets with Targum are represented by a fifteenth century Ms. on paper and a small vellum fragment of Isaiah. A considerable number of old Haftarah codices on vellum give additional material for parts of this Targum.

Of Hagiographa there are several very old fragments on vellum with superlinear vocalization. While, as far as a superficial examination showed, they do not offer the oriental readings recorded by Kahle, they are valuable representatives of the old Yemenite tradition.

Three paper Mss. of the Hagiographa are accompanied by an Arabic translation. The oldest of them has in the beginning of Ruth an Arabic introduction and a Midrashic commentary, like Ms. Berlin 129. For Kohelet it has Ibn Ghiat's translation and for Song of Songs the translation ascribed to Saadya and a commentary like Ms. Oxford 2333,1. For this last book it also has the Targum. Psalms, Job and Proverbs are accompanied by Saadya's translation.

COMMENTARIES TO THE BIBLE

There are a number of unpublished commentaries, aside from copies of the classical ones on the Pentateuch by Rashi, Nahmanides, R. Bahya—one of them containing numerous insertions

and marginal extracts from other commentaries, partly lost—, Jacob b. Asher and Abraham Saba which, most likely, are copied from printed texts.

Of the Rashi Mss. one is very interesting. The folio volume contains in the middle of the page the commentary of Rashi on Leviticus to Deuteronomy surrounded by a super-commentary—which turned out to be the *Debek Tob* by Simon of Aschaffenburg—the *Baal ha-Turim* and extracts from *Yalkut* and other works. Characteristically the Yemenite scribe entitles Rashi's commentary *Midrash Rashi*. A rough Yemenite hand added another work on the three outer margins. This is the commentary of Zechariah b. Saadya, the author of the poetic *Sefer ha-Musar* with insertions by the copyist Joseph b. Me'oded al-Najari Halevi. The copyist informs us that he is called *ha-Hoshek* and that enabled me to identify another fragment in the collection, which has additions of *Ani ha-Hoshek*, as part of the same book. The conclusion of Zechariah's commentary is not found in the modern copy of that book in our Library.² The author here gives some personal information³ which is followed by a lengthy colophon of the copyist.^{3a} Unfortunately part of the text is

² See Register of the Jewish Theological Seminary 1930, p. 182. This Ms. also has the additions by our copyist (אני החושק).

³ שאני אסור אני ובני ביתי לא נצא מפתח המגדל . . . מלבד דוחק הזמן אין לי כי אם דבר יום ביומו ומעונה חת יד המלכות בעסקיהם במלאכתי כל הימים לו [לא?] אשקוט לא אנוח ואין לי פנאי רק בלילות לעתים. אם אמצא ריוח במונותי לד' או לה' ימים די מחסורי אשמה בחלקי ואז תנוח דעתי מעט ואעמוד בשליש הלילה האחרון לפי חשוקתי לאלו הענינים ואין ריע ואין חבר לישא וליתן עמי. אשב בדרד ואלום לפעמים יעזור השם להשיג הדרוש ההוא . . . ואחנן לפני אלהי השמים שירחם עלי ויצילני מכף אויב ואורב ועם יחידים השרידים יתן חלקי . . .

אמנם אני המעתיק לזה הספר שלר' זכריה בן סעדיה בן יעקב^{3a} הצידוני הנקרא פעמים מרדכי נערה חצי וחוקתי מחני בהעתקת זה הספר לרוב חשיקותי כן ולהוציא טבעי בעולם לדובב שפתי ישנים ולדובב שפתי הרב בקברו ולהזכירו בפני זקנים . . . על כן דחקתי עצמי לילה ויומם ושמתי מונתי על(?) זה הספר הנותן אמרי שפר כדי להתגדר בו ואמרת לי כי ברכה בו . . . ומצאתי עי' עיון אמתי ברוב דבריו הנעימים שיש בהם סלומים וחתומים אשר לא היו עמנו בימים קדמונים פעמים פשטים ופעמים דבררי קבלה סמוכים וסייעני הש' בזה הספר צדה לדרך עפ' רוב חשוקתי נקראתי בעצמי אני החושק ולא אצא ממנו . . .

וכתבתי אותו על שם החבר הטוב . . . עודד בן אברהם הידוע (a word crossed out) הלוי . . . והכותב קל הקלים . . . יוסף ביר' אבא מרי מעודד ביר' יתר ביר' עודד ביר' יעץ הידוע אלננארי הלוי. ננמל בסיועהא דשמיא בתלחא בשבא דהוא י"ג יומין לירח סיון במאהא עזאן . . . The copyist's statement that the author Zechariah b. Saadya is sometimes

damaged by the Yemenite binder, who cut off some passages and pasted over others, so that e. g. the date of the copy cannot be ascertained.

Sefer ha-Remazim of R. Joel was already referred to. Some fragments of supercommentaries on Abraham ibn Ezra on the Pentateuch are still to be identified.

The commentary by a certain R. Jonathan was only known by a few extracts and an incomplete copy in Jerusalem.⁴ There are several copies of Shalom Shibzi's incorrectly printed *Hemdut Yamim*.

Several incomplete commentaries on the Pentateuch still require identification. In a fragment on Deuteronomy, in fine Spanish characters, we read in section *Waethanan* that in exile the gentiles compel the Jews to idolatry in two ways, by the persecutions which recur in every generation and by the prohibition of work on certain holidays of theirs. Thus in Christian communities they must clean their streets when a procession is about to pass and they are forbidden to do work in public on those days. A little further the author states that everything depends on one's wife and that he himself for eight years gave up two thirds of his studies on account of a quarrelsome wife.

Abraham b. Solomon's commentary to the Former Prophets with its wealth of quotations from partly unknown books has not been exhausted by Steinschneider's extracts. Dr. Boaz Cohen in examining the Ms. found some interesting passages, e. g. a quotation from an unrecorded work of Maimonides' famous pupil Joseph ibn Aknin, *Bustan al-Azhar*.⁵ Like all the copies of this bulky work, ours too is unfortunately incomplete. There is also a copy of Abraham's commentary on the Later Prophets which consists merely of additions to Rashi.⁶

also called Mordecai is probably due to the fact that in his poetic work Mordecai Hazidoni is one of the two speakers.

⁴ See G. Scholem's Catalogue of the Cabbalistic Mss. in the Hebrew National and University Library, no. 22, p. 52.

⁵ Cf. Steinschneider, *Arabische Literatur*, p. 274, no. 12.

⁶ Cf. Steinschneider, l. c. p. 248 § 194.

A Yemenite commentary on the Haftarat is very rich in quotations and deserves a full analysis.

A very lengthy commentary on Psalms, circa 400 leaves folio, lacks 30 leaves at the beginning and some at the end. It covers chapters 6–141. The interpretation of every chapter is followed by the *Midrash Tehillim* with the author's explanation. The Ms. bears the title *Naim Zammer* and Toledano suggested its identity with the work of Solomon Alkabetz which is referred to under the title *Naim Zemiroth*.

On Song of Songs we have a fragment of the latter part of Joseph ibn Aknin's commentary, heretofore only known through the Oxford unicum. That of Shemarya of Crete, composed in 1328 for Robert of Anjou, King of Sicily, is represented by a Yemenite copy.⁷ There is an incomplete copy of the commentary by R. Joseph Hayyun of Lisbon, by whom there are perhaps commentaries on other books also. A lengthy interpretation of the Song of Songs which lacks the introduction and breaks off at 7, 17 is divided into 26 Derushim. Toledano conjectures Abraham Saba as its author.

The earlier version of Ibn Ezra's commentary to the same book⁸ is followed by that of Abraham b. Isaac Halevi which was printed in Sabbioneta in 1558. At the end we read that the author composed his work in 1395. This date contradicts the identification of the commentator with the poet of the same name, on whose death, Heshwan 1393, Profet Duran wrote a letter of condolence to his son.⁹

The codex in which the last two works are found also includes commentaries by Isaac b. Joseph ha-Cohen on Kohelet, Esther and Ruth, the last of which was printed twice in the sixteenth century. I do not know on what basis Steinschneider (Cat. Bodl.) designated the author as of Jerusalem. The commentary

⁷ Cf. Scholem's Catalogue, l. c. no. 15, 4, p. 43 and Catalogue D. S. Sassoon no. 1060, p. 1071.

⁸ Ed. Matthews, London 1874.

⁹ *Maase Efod*, Vienna 1865, pp. 192–97. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 512 denies the identity; see also D. Kaufmann in Fünin's *Kneset Israel* III, 560 f.

on Kohelet has at the end a few verses¹⁰ with the date (6. Heshwan 1389). The verses are followed by a brief outline of the Book of Kohelet which the author divided into eight parts and by some verses in praise of the book by Enzark Profet.¹¹

MIDRASH

The rich collection of Midrashim is of unusual significance; it requires careful examination which, undoubtedly, will yield further important results.

Yemenite copies of the *Midrash Rabba* on Leviticus to Deuteronomy and on the Megillot ought to be compared with the edition. Critical notes on *Midrash Rabba* on the Pentateuch were compiled in Palestine in 1631-41 by an anonymous scholar who frequently refers to his brother-in-law and teacher חלב, whose opinions are often added on the margin by the author. The latter used two Mss. which he purloined since the owners refused to lend them to him.

Two copies of *Tanhuma* to Genesis and Exodus seem to be very close to the first edition. There are also some smaller fragments of the Midrash.

¹⁰	מניאה מחשך רואות לאל הורות והוראות יהי נסתר לאלף אות לתשלום כאשר יאות פחות עם סוד חמ"ש מאות ואו יגל בכל פאות:	ובא תשלום פרישה זאת בששה יום לירח בול וה'א דרך ימות עולם סכום ממך בהסתר קרא אל ע"ל ועוד ארבע והיתר כלול בכל
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Verse 5 means take 4 times 180 (על + עוד) = 720 and deduct 570 (500+סוד). This clearly indicates the date [4] 150. I am indebted to my friend Dr. Israel Davidson for the interpretation of this passage. The verses are preceded by the statement: עמדי בעו שדי עמדי: לפרט האלף הששי in which the ה is evidently a mistake of the copyist.

¹¹	חרוזים אלו עשה הנש' אנוארק פרפיית על זה הפירוש: בקשו גנוז אוהו לרובי סתירותיו יצחק יתרחץ כל ריוו וקושיותיו ליצחק חכם לבב יגלה עלומותיו מאז בנו יוסף ביאר מבוכותיו אליו לשם עולם לזרעו לדורותיו: עוד לו חרוזים אלו	לקודמים נעלם מחקר לקהלת חזו ונבאו כי יעמוד כהן לוה כללוהו בין ספרי קדש הולכי חשכים בו נגה עליהם אור מקום להתגדר ראו להניח עוד לו חרוזים אלו
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לדברי קהלת	ונפשם נבהלת	סגורה ננעלת	לחכמי דת דלת
לנפש משכלת:	וביאר גם הוחק	לשכלם הוא יצחק	יקם כהן יצחק

Among the four copies of *Pirke de R. Eliezer* there is a very old one on vellum in a box binding which is, curiously, preceded by three leaves of Ibn Janah's grammar of which no copy had heretofore turned up in Yemen.

Dr. Enelow who examined a number of these Mss. discovered among them the old *Midrash of the Thirty-Two Rules of Interpretation* which is often quoted by older authorities.¹² Only the first part which gave the name of the Midrash was printed long ago. Now we may soon expect to get an edition of the complete text of this old Midrash by Dr. Enelow.

While we have in the *Pesiktas* Midrashim for the holidays there also existed, at least in Yemen, a compilation for the Minor Holidays. Two Mss. of our collection contain various pieces for *Hanukkah*, *Purim*, *Hol ha-Moed* and *Tisha be-Ab*. Among the pieces for Hanukkah we find a list of the leaders (*Parnassim*) of Israel from Moses to David with indication of the length of their activities and their dates in the Jubilee periods; it is followed by one of the kings of Israel and Judah up to the Persian Rule, followed in turn by the forty-eight Prophets and Prophetesses, all based on the *Seder Olam*. In another piece we find a somewhat different version of the *Judith story* which will be published by Dr. M. Higger. The interpretation of the biblical lesson for Hanukkah is taken from the *Sifre* on Numbers, §§ 39-61—an interesting fact, since the *Midrash Hagadol* did not use this *Sifre* and it was assumed that it was unknown in Yemen. For Purim we get *Midrash Tehillim* ch. 22 and for the biblical lesson the *Mekilta*, section *Amalek*, which is here divided into 25 paragraphs, not into two chapters as it is in our *Mekilta*. It is followed by a *Midrash Megillat Esther* which is identical with the Talmudic interpretation, *Megillah* 10b-16b. Next comes as Midrash for Hol ha-Moed *Midrash Tehillim* chapters 1-2. The interpretation of the lesson is taken from the *Midrash of the Thirty-Two Rules*. For Tishah be Ab the stories told in *Gittin* are followed by lists of the days on which one fasts. The *Midrash on Lamentations* is a somewhat abridged version with a short introduction and several insertions in the early part. It

¹² See JQR N. S. XXIII, pp. 357-67.

seems to be closer to the Spanish version on the Midrash than to the Palestinian one published by Buber. After a brief Midrash on the lesson of the day the Yemenite *Midrash on Esther* published by Buber closes the volume. The other volume starts with the latter Midrash which is followed by the parts belonging to the 9th of Ab. Dr. Enelow¹³ refers to another such Ms. which I have also examined. It seems that these Midrashim for the Minor Holidays were not uncommon in Yemen.

The Yemenite *Midrash on Esther* is represented by a great many copies, one of them on vellum. An incomplete copy has the heading *Midrash Hagadol* on Esther, thus supporting Albeck's theory¹⁴ concerning this book. The whole of the *Midrash Hagadol* is found here in several copies. Two of them on the first part of Exodus and on Numbers are written on vellum; these are the only copies of that Midrash on vellum so far known, and also the oldest. The copy of Numbers is being used by Dr. E. N. Rabinowitz for his forthcoming edition of that book. A Hebrew-Arabic glossary of this Midrash under the title *Margalit* is found in several copies; one of them is followed by a glossary on the Yemenite *Esther Midrash* and the beginning of that on Kohemoth; another, of which the beginning is missing, presents an amplified version. The latter was copied in 1635.

There are several parts of Nathanael b. Isaiah's *Light of the Shadow* described by the late Dr. Alexander Kohut, as well as of Yahya al-Dhahiri's *Midrash ha-Hefetz*, and also a commentary on the latter composed by the author himself under the title *The Chosen Pearl*. Only one copy of this supercommentary was known in the British Museum and Steinschneider¹⁵ enumerates it among anonymous works.

Another such compilation, Abu Mansur al-Dsimiri's *Light of the Intellect*, is known through the description by Alexander Kohut who had a copy of this work on Leviticus to Deuteronomy. The new collection contains a fine old copy of Genesis and Exodus, unfortunately somewhat incomplete at the beginning

¹³ L. c. p. 359, note 1.

¹⁴ MGWJ, 72, 1928, pp. 155-58. In this connection the inclusion of a glossary to the Midrash in *Margalit* (see below) is of interest.

¹⁵ *Arabische Literatur*, p. 276, no. 18.

and end, and badly disarranged. Like the second part, it shows the author's acquaintance with Arabic literature and also his wide use of works of Maimonides. In a short poem of his the author mentions his father's name as Solomon.

Another volume, lacking only a page or two at the beginning, offers a similar compilation, shorter than those mentioned above, by a hitherto unknown author Jacob b. Mansur el-Bihani. Cod. Sassoon no. 826 (pp. 650–51 of his Catalogue) was copied from our Ms. in 1588 together with the colophon¹⁶ which is damaged in Sassoon's copy; the latter erroneously considers his Ms. to be a copy of *Midrash ha-Hefetz*.

A fine copy of R. Yedaya ha-Penini's philosophical commentary on selected passages of seven Midrashim (*Rabbot, Tanhuma, Sifre, Pirke de R. Eliezer, Midrash Nehamot* and *Tillim*) lacks the first few leaves.

There are a number of smaller Midrashim, such as *Gedullat Moshe, Alphabeta de Ben Sira* and *Pirke de Rabbenu ha-Kadosh*, the latter in several copies with numerous Arabic insertions. This text printed twice from greatly varying Mss. by Schönblum and Grünhut¹⁷ deserves a new edition. A new version of the *Ten Signs of the Messiah* will be published by Dr. Higgen. The *Midrash on the Ten Commandments* and some others are possibly copied from early editions. *Petirat Moshe* and a few others are found in Arabic translations.

MISHNA

A Yemenite copy of the Mishna text lacks *Seder Nashim*. A copy of *Nashim* and *Nezikim* in an oriental cursive hand, not very old, offers many variants, according to Schwager's catalogue. More important are the copies of the Mishna with Maimonides' Arabic commentary, some twelve volumes. Three of these, curiously, have been completed recently through insertion of the

והדא אלכתאב מן תאליף יעקוב בן מנצור אלביחאני והו קול אלחכמים ז"ל ומן נצ"ר פי¹⁶
הדא אלכתאב זלל או כטא או זיאה או נקצאן או אכתלאף או תקדים או תאכיר בחסב אלעלם
ואלמערופה פאנא אסאלה אן ידון לכף זכות ושלוש.

¹⁷ The Mss. used for both editions are found in the Adler collection of the Seminary Library.

missing leaves written in beautiful modern hand. One of these supplements is dated 1914. Several vellum Mss. date back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. One copy, a bulky folio volume, written circa 1615, contains most of *Moed* and *Nashim* and adds besides Maimonides' a Hebrew commentary by Mizrahi whose identity is not indicated. For some treatises of *Moed* this volume has not only the Mishna but even the Talmud.

Of Solomon Adeni's commentary on *Taharot* there is an early shorter version, probably autograph, completed in Hebron 1611. Among commentaries on Abot, fragments of those by Israel Israeli and Isaac Israeli may be mentioned.

Abraham b. David's commentary on *Torat Kohanim*, badly edited on the basis of the hitherto unique Oxford Ms. is represented by a large Ms. containing the greater part of the book. The Seminary Library also has one of the three copies of the fragment printed in Constantinople in the beginning of the sixteenth century. There is thus good material for a new edition of this valuable commentary.

TALMUD

Besides a number of old fragments of Talmud treatises consisting of one or two vellum leaves mostly taken out of bindings, there is a copy of *Berakot* with a title page stating that it was written in 1379 by Joseph b. Saadya. However, the writing and parchment do not look so old and the book gives the impression of being a forgery.

Of two Yemenite Mss. one contains the last part of *Succah* and most of *Rosh Hashanah*, the other *Pessahim* and *Yoma*, preceded by Jacob ibn Gabbai's *Tolaat Jacob*, copied from the Constantinople edition of 1560 by the same scribe. In view of the interesting readings offered by the Columbia Talmud Mss. and by the quotations in the *Midrash Hagadol* the textual readings of these Mss. deserve investigation.

Of old commentaries on the Talmud the following may be mentioned: Nahmanides on *Ketubot*, *Kiddushin* and *Gittin* as well as on *Maccot* and Meir b. Joseph אב"סל"י on *Aboda Zara*; the author states that he wrote his commentary on the basis of

the instruction of his late master R. Jonah. In his commentary he refers to another teacher of his, the great French scholar R. Isaac b. Manoah. He quotes many French and a few Spanish authorities, among the latter Nahmanides, as still living. He also mentions a commentary of his on Hullin.

In Abraham b. David's (Rabad) commentary on *Abodah Zarah*, known only from quotations, I was not able to verify these in the Ms.; but since the reading is very difficult, they may have escaped me.

Meiri on *Betza* and Ibn Adret on *Shevuot*, according to Schwager's catalogue, contain more than the printed text.

On *Baba Bathra* there is a kind of *Shitta Mekubesei*, not identical with the book printed under that title. Another commentary on the same treatise has passages from Alfasi followed alternately by R. Nissim b. Ruben's interpretation. The extracts from Alfasi stop in the middle of the third chapter.

A commentary on *Yoma* and parts of *Gittin*, ascribed in the Ms. to R. Nissim, actually is a later compilation quoting Joseph Caro as deceased.

Commentaries on a large part of the Talmud by R. Yomtob Zahalon, in a beautiful handwriting, are followed by notes of the same author on some chapters of *Tur Orah Hayyim* and some of his responsa. There are numerous commentaries by German, Oriental and North African scholars on various parts of the Talmud, but these I have not examined yet.

Of the minor treatises there is a copy with a commentary in a German hand of the last century and a Ms. of *Abot de R. Nathan* ending with chapter 35; a commentary of *Sofrim* by Mizrahi is incorporated into the volume containing his and Maimonides' commentary on *Moed* and *Nashim* which was described above.

Talmudic methodology is represented by David b. Yomtob ibn Bilia's *Commentary on R. Ishmael's Thirteen Rules of Interpretation* of which Freimann records only one copy in Cambridge, by a Yemenite copy of R. Simson of Chinon's *Sefer Keritut* and by a remarkable copy of Moses ibn Danon's little known *Kelale ha-Talmud*. This book contains a good many interesting quotations and deserves a more detailed study. Our copy is written

by different Spanish hands. Of its *Kelalim* the seventh is full of marginal notes and is evidently the author's holograph copy. In an incomplete copy of the same book (Cod. Halberstam 418) these additions are found in the body of the work. Near the end of this part after ch. 50 the author incorporated two responsa of his in answer to questions of the Nagid R. Saul b. Shemtob, both of considerable historical interest. The first discusses a decision of the community of Fez to forbid under a Herem the appointment of one of the exiles of Castille and Northern Spain as leader (Shaik), the other concerns a ten year agreement entered into in 1497 by representatives of the communities of the Castillian immigrants in reference to the headtax due the government. It was signed by Don Jacob ibn Amram, R. Joseph Pollegar (פוליקאר), Don Moses Albarhanez and Don Joseph di Leiria. But the authority of these self-appointed representatives was challenged. In the same year at a gathering of four other prominent men, R. Moses Valensi, R. Samuel ibn Rosh, R. Meir Cohen and R. Moses al-Halawa with the taxpaying members of Alkasar, it was decided not to have Don Isaac ibn Zaruyah as Shaik. While the text is written in clear Spanish characters, the signatures affixed to the two responsa, written in one continuous stroke, are characteristic of an author's signature which no copyist could have imitated.

The early part of the Ms. is written by a different hand, perhaps it is a clear copy made for the author. In the third *Kelal* we find a statement of the contents of its two chapters and the remark: these I have written in a separate treatise and there the following passage is missing.¹⁸ The Halberstam Ms. begins in the middle of this part.

On the basis of Ms. Oxford 850 Steinschneider¹⁹ states that the book consists of seven *Kelalim*. Our Ms. actually has eight, and Dr. Enelow gave some quotations from the 8th part in Vol. IV of his *Al-Nakawa* (pp. 314, 398). According to the introduction to this part it consists of 15 chapters, 14 dealing with the character and duties of a scholar, the 15th adding

¹⁸ ואלו הם כתובים לי בחבור בפני עצמו ומאותו החבור חסר זה.

¹⁹ *Hebr. Uebers.*, p. 922.

Saadya's *Questions on Resurrection*. As a matter of fact there follows ch. 16 on the titles of the Talmudic authorities, i. e. the well-known responsum of Hai in the Aruk.²⁰ In the midst of this the Ms. breaks off.

The Oxford Ms. is copied in 1566 by Yedidya b. Moses da Recanate whose name occurs at the end of an Index of Bible verses quoted in the Talmud on twelve closely written leaves in small quarto. The Talmudic passages are still quoted by chapters. The index is very meager and incomplete. Whether Yedidya was its compiler or merely the copyist is not certain. The former seems more probable.²¹

HALAKA

The division of Codes is particularly rich. A fine Italian vellum Ms. of Isaac Alfasi's Code, beautifully written, lacks the first leaf. Heretofore the Library had no complete Ms. of this important code. There are also some parts of Alfasi.

Of Maimonides' *Mishne Tora* there are more than thirty parts, all but one from Yemen, and even the one written in Spain in the fourteenth century—it was already sold in 1415—to judge by a later owner's entry on the fly-leaf, seems to have been in Yemen. It is written in an excellent square hand and comprises the introduction, the first three books and the beginning of the fourth.

Several of the Yemenite Mss. like the preceding one are written on vellum; some of them use red ink for the headings or have illuminations. A few are dated from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One, books VI–IX, written in 1619 by a scribe with the curious name Abner ben Ner ha-Sharoni²² has in the beginning a collection of Maimonides' Responsa copied from the Constantinople edition. Of Maimonides' *Book of Precepts* there are several copies of the Arabic original, none of them quite complete.

²⁰ B. Lewin's edition of Sherira's letter, p. 125 ff.

²¹ Kaufmann, JQR XI, pp. 662–7, gave a sketch of his literary activity.

²² Sassoon, Cod. 61 (Cat. p. 90) has a copy of the Mishna from his hand, the Seminary Library *Zeraim* and *Moed* with Maimonides' Arabic commentary and numerous interesting marginal notes.

There are a number of commentaries on Maimonides' Code. A fine fragment of *Maggid Mishne* on vellum deals with the laws of Sabbath. Several of the commentaries are in Arabic and require careful examination as they are partly incomplete and mostly give no indication of authorship. One containing the commentary of Yahya b. Suleiman, the author of *Midrash ha-Hefetz*, was composed in 1427 and covered the first five books of the Code and also the "Book of Precepts." The copy covers only the first two books and part of the fifth. It is likely that other parts will be found among the unidentified codices. In one of these commentaries, possibly by Yahya^{22a} (since it is followed by the commentary on the *Book of Precepts*) I came across twenty questions directed by the people of Aden to Joshua b. Abraham b. David b. Abraham, the son of Maimonides. Many of these commentaries are in the form of questions and answers. In one of them I found the passage with which the commentary in Cod. British Museum 500 (Catalogue Margoliouth II, p. 111) begins. Margoliouth ascribes it to Moses b. Joseph אַלבלידא. Two of these commentaries to the first book of the Code, both complete in the beginning, have no author's names but are quite different from one another. In one Ms. books I-II and IV are followed by a commentary on the laws of slaughtering by R. Nathanael b. Isaac. From the introduction we learn that this scholar had composed a commentary on the *Book of Precepts* and books I-IV and XI-XIV of the Code which he called *Sefer Margalit*, but had omitted the often commented laws of slaughtering. In 1464, probably at Aleppo, he composed a commentary on these laws at the request of Shalom b. Hoter²³ who found the older works verbose, not very useful, frequently contradictory and not in agreement with the accepted law.

Quite a number of commentaries on the laws of Shehita are found in the new collection. It is curious that several include

^{22a} cf. Al-Nadaf l. c. (note 27) fol. 12a.

²³ In another Ms. of the Seminary Library the name of Hoter is identified on the margin with Mansur and the book called שרם אלהים.

in their works Maimonides' Creed, one in the beginning, others in ch. IV. As far as I could see, all these commentaries quote very few, if any, authorities.

There also is a very brief Hebrew-Arabic glossary to Maimonides' Code. The copy covers books II-IV, VII, XII-XIV. As XII follows on the same page, at the end of VII, the intermediate books were evidently omitted.

A copy of Ibn Adret's large compilation *Torat ha-Bayyit* includes the *Shaar ha-Mayim* which is missing in all other copies and has recently been published from this Ms. by Prof. S. Löwinger of Budapest.^{23a}

This book as well as a copy of Jacob b. Asher's *Tur Hoshen Mishpat* and three volumes of R. Jeruham are all written in beautiful Spanish characters. They were found in Tokat, Anatolia, where the exiles had taken them. These Mss. of R. Yeruham which have been examined by some of my students last winter are of considerable interest as they contain passages missing in the editions and in other Mss. of the book. The new codices have constant references to the works of R. Yeruham's master R. Asher, as the author promises in the introduction. Possibly we have here a revised version of his book.

R. Yeruham tells us that he found a few treatises of R. Asher's work divided into paragraphs by his son, while the majority lack such division. This statement is born out by fragments of four treatises, one of which, *Berakot*, is divided into very short paragraphs.

A book containing some *Hagahot* on the *Semak* consists of 81 paragraphs and is very rich in quotations of French, German and Spanish authorities. *Mordecai* and *Tashbetz* are very largely drawn upon. Among contemporaries the author mentions his teacher R. Simson b. Simson, R. Samuel of Chateau Thierry who gave him an opinion of the late R. Joseph, and R. Alexander ha-Cohen.²⁴ Other authorities are e. g. the Rabbi of London

^{23a} Reprint from הסוקר I Budapest 1933.

²⁴ אלסכנדרר הכהן ר' in the Arabic form.

(without a name) and R. Jose of Lincoln.²⁵ Of books, among many others, the laws of slaughtering by R. Judah of Spires and the *Sefer ha-Ibri* of R. Shemarya are quoted. The *Hagahot* are followed by brief *Minhage Rothenburg* and *Minhage Zarfat*, both mainly liturgical.

A volume of halakic collectanea written in North Africa contains Responsa of Alfasi, Rashi and later authorities, Samuel b. Hofni's *Shaare Berakot*, the *Tekanot* of R. Gershom, some of the short halakic compilations ascribed to Rashi and numerous extracts of the opinions of R. Meir of Rothenburg. At the end there is Maimonides' will and a number of responsa of his taken from an early edition.

The *Thirty-Six Gates* of R. Isaac Isserlein of Marburg were known only through a copy in Oxford (no. 790). An anonymous copy of the book under this title in the Seminary Library could now be definitely identified. The Ms. has some notes inserted in the text and is followed by another set of *Hagahot* by the author himself.

A *Book of Precepts*, partly halakic, but mainly cabbalistic, breaks off at the beginning of Commandment 94. It is ascribed in this Ms. to R. Isaac b. Susan. Tauber²⁶ ascribed the work of which he had a copy to Isaac b. Farhi. In a typewritten catalogue of the Mss. left by him the Ms. is ascribed to R. Azur ibn Shabbat who wrote a commentary on Psalms. A passage quoted from Tauber's Ms. literally occurs in ours. In the latter Isaac ibn Shushan's authorship is distinctly stated. Tauber says that the book consists of 94 positive commandments and 110 or 111 prohibitions. In the new collection there is also a small fragment of this book.

The laws for weekdays and Sabbath, with special attention to liturgy, are dealt with in an anonymous²⁷ Yemenite compila-

²⁵ מניקולא quoted from חרומה חדשה; R. Elijah מטרגניא and R. Hayyim Cohen of Vienne (מביינא) may also be of interest. הקדש מרון פירא is probably a corruption of Dampierre.

²⁶ מחקרים ביבליאורפיים, Jerusalem 1933, p. 32.—See Additional Note p. 167.

²⁷ Abraham Al-Nadaf, חוברת שרידי חמן, Jerusalem 1928, fol. 11b, ascribes this book to Joseph al-Uzeiri.

tion *Mipi Hakamim*; a second part under the same title deals with the laws of holidays.

Responsa collections are mainly represented by later authorities. There are numerous individual decisions, especially by North African scholars, some of them of historical value. The most interesting is a discussion about the laws of slaughtering dealing with the differences of opinion which arose in consequence of the large immigration of Spanish Jews after the expulsion. The treatise by Hayyim Gagin, *Etz Hayyim*, contains a lot of interesting information.²⁸

Of older responsa there is a collection of those of the "Himmelskorrespondent" R. Jacob "bar Levi" of Marvêge which has a short introduction stating that it was his custom to lock himself up in his study when legal questions arose. After a while people would rouse him from his trance by knocking at his door.²⁹ The responsa do not follow the same order as the edition, but unfortunately the ink has eaten through the paper and many pages cannot be read. It is followed by a collection of Geonic responsa, in a even worse state of preservation. This collection seems somewhat related to the printed collection *Shaare Teshuva*.

Other collections are by Ibn Adret, a copy of the abridged responsa of R. Asher, *Haze ha-Tenufa*, and responsa of R. Isaac Barfat. At the end of the latter we find the responsa exchanged between Maimonides and Samuel b. Ali in the Arabic original. A responsum by R. Meir b. Moses, a Roman Rabbi of the thirteenth century, was published from one of the new Mss. by Dr. Enelow, *Menorat ha-Maor* IV, pp. 561-66.

²⁸ See Toledano's extracts in *גר המערב*, Jerusalem 1911, pp. 58-68.

²⁹ שאלות מפסקי הלכות ששאל החכם החסיד הנודע בשערים על מרומי קרת הרופק דלחי מרום ר' יעקב בר (!) לוי איש נכר וחסיד ה' מעיר מדיש (!) אשר שמעו הולך בכל המדינות על חסידותו ותמימותו הכל סומכין וראוי לסמוך עליו: ובה משפטו כל הימים כל זמן שהלכה מסתפקת לו צוה לנעול שערי מדרשו ואזי ה' במראה אליו יתודע וכל ספקותיו מודיעים לו. וזאת גלוי וידוע לכל כי אינו יודע ואינו רואה ואין מקין עד שלוקחין ענין ידוע ומקריבין לפתח מדרשו ומיד היה נוער משנחו: ושמענו כי קודם כן היחה מעלה בזאת לרשי ז"ל. אבל על זה החסיד ראינו פליאות גדולות ונוראות על ספריו ועל דבריו ויקם עדות ביעקב וחורה שם בישראל ומקצת מדבריו כתבנו:

LITURGY

In the field of liturgy the Southern-French communities of Avignon, Carpentras and l'Isle, various communities of Northern-Africa and especially Yemen are very well represented.

A very fine Ms. contains the prayers for the Three Holidays according to the rite of Corfu. A fragment of a beautiful Spanish *Siddur* on vellum coming from Agadir I recognized as part of a volume of which two other parts had been acquired for the Seminary Library at auctions in 1926 and 1928.

A North-Italian *Siddur* written by Meir b. Samuel de Salves at Pescia in 1397 was described by O. H. Schorr in he-Chalutz IX, 2, p. 50. The last part of this Ms., 70 leaves, with a colophon, partly erased, is found in this collection. The bulk of the Ms., 420 leaves, forms Ms. Sassoon 1028 and is described in his catalogue pp. 889-902. It is curious that both parts give the same day for the completion of the work.

Among the numerous Yemenite *Siddurim* of different sizes, written at various periods, several are accompanied by commentaries; most of them contain an anonymous treatise on the calendar, one written in 1586 mentions as the author of this *Ibbur Shanim* Ma'udha b. Solomon b. Mansur al-Lidani. In another *Siddur* this treatise is followed by one on the planets and other astronomical matter. Besides formulae of documents and other halakic material a few *Siddurim* also contain at the end collections of *Maasiyot*. Some copies include an Arabic treatise (*Tafsir*) on the Ten Commandments by R. Eleazar b. R. Eliezer, which is different from the well-known text often ascribed to Saadya.

Among North-African rituals one is a Judaeo-Spanish translation of the *Mahzor*. Of the smaller rituals two copies of the *Tikkun Shebuot* are curiously written on scrolls, one is in a wooden cylindrical case; both come from Yemen. There are several commentaries on the prayer book, one a copy from a very incomplete Ms., *Sefer ha-Tamid* by R. Reuben b. Hayyim, the uncle of the rationalist Levi b. Abraham b. Hayyim and the teacher of R. Menahem Meiri. This fragment is being published from a copy which the former owner J. M. Toledano retained.

A Spanish Ms. of David Abudraham's *Perush ha-Mahzor* is the Supplement (*Tashlum Abudraham*) published by Prins.

Another commentary by Isaac b. Solomon b. Moses b. Saadya Ezobi of Constantinople, the Rabbi of the German community of Brussa, has the title *Agudat Ezob* and is largely cabbalistic. Unfortunately leaves are missing in various places. The author evidently is a kinsman of Solomon b. Judah Ezobi who was also born at Constantinople, but returned to the native country of his family and became Rabbi of Carpentras. The latter used the same title *Agudat Ezob* for his collection of homilies.³⁰

A great number of song books from Yemen, North Africa and various parts of Turkey may disclose unknown compositions of our great poets. It is curious that in the new collection we find Turkish song books in a format characteristically Yemenite for books of that type—very narrow and long.

In one of the North-African volumes we find a cabbalistic prayer which, it is claimed, Hasdai Crescas used to recite daily!

Among secular poetry fragments of Moses ibn Ezra's *Tarshish* and Harizi's *Anak*, published from the Oxford unicum by Brody, may be mentioned. There is furthermore a good copy of Zechariah b. Saadya's *Sefer ha-Musar*,^{30a} which was first made known by Brody and from which Sassoon gives interesting extracts in his catalogue pp. 1021–33.

A kind of *Makama* followed by a letter to Saadya b. David Darin³¹ by Nahum ibn Oded b. Jesha Halevi, together 3 pages, is inserted in the middle of a cabbalistic volume.

PHILOSOPHY

In the field of philosophy the following items are of interest: Of Bahya's *Duties of the Heart* there is a copy of the Paris Ms. of the Arabic original by Ber Goldberg, Paris 1863.

³⁰ Eleven volumes of these are mentioned in R. E. J. XI. A twelfth volume covering the years 1616–1620 is found in the Seminary Library.

^{30a} The same author's commentary on the Pentateuch, *Zeda le-Derek*, is recorded above. It is quoted together with his lost *Sefer Anak* in the *Sefer ha-Musar* of which a fourth copy is found in Codex Günzburg 1528.

³¹ Al-Nadaf, l. c. fol. 7a mentions a Yemenite scholar by this name as commentator of Maimonides' Code.

Of the Arabic original of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* there are five large fragments. A good part of the second book is extant in an old vellum Ms. as is a fragment of Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation. There is also a fragment of Yahya b. Suleiman's Arabic commentary on this classical work of mediaeval Jewish philosophy.

From another Ms. we learn that just as Samuel ibn Tibbon has added a glossary of philosophic terms to his translation of the *Guide*, so he did with his translation of the short *Treatise on Resurrection* by the same author. This glossary of three pages was hitherto unknown.³² This treatise with the glossary forms part of a Ms. written in German hand but terribly disarranged in binding in Yemen; evidently the owners could not read the German characters. The volume also contains Gabirol's *Ethics* with the letter of the translator Judah ibn Tibbon which has a few better readings than the Oxford Ms. from which Steinschneider published the letter. It further contains Maimonides' *Eight Chapters* and *Commentary on Abot*; Kalonymos' *Mesharet Moshe*; the *Foundation of Repentance* by R. Eleazar Rokeah; Kalonymos b. Kalonymos' *Eben Bohan*, etc.

An Arabic treatise on Maimonides' creed, partly in the form of questions and answers, is unfortunately incomplete;³³ a few treatises by Isaac Latif and Abraham ibn Ezra are written in a clear Spanish hand; they are followed by the treatises of Averroes taken from the end of Gerson b. Solomon's *Gate of Heaven*, from which there are a few more extracts in the Ms.

There is a copy of Hanok b. Solomon el Constantini's *Marot Elohim* and a very interesting copy of Judah el-Khorassani's *Aron ha-Edut*. This copy has a colophon by Judah b. David b. Gedalia b. Solomon b. Joseph b. Judah ibn Yahya. He tells us that he came in 1405 from Lisbon to Fez and met the author in a small place Taiza where he dwelt. He was requested to finish the copy, the first sixteen chapters of which had been written

³² It is possible that it is also found in Ms. Oxford 1272 where according to the catalogue his glossary on the *Guide* follows (also on three pages) our treatise.

³³ Al-Nadaf, l. c. fol. 7a mentions such a commentary by Hoter b. Solomon ibn Muallim.

by Judah b. Solomon ibn Yahyun; later on he was presented with the book which had not yet reached his own country. He describes the author as a tall man of fine appearance who impressed him by his learning and the elegance of his diction.³⁴

Several of R. Jonah's ethical treatises are found in the collection. Of two copies of his *Shaare Teshuba*, one on vellum bears the title *Shaare Zedek*. To that author one of the Mss. also ascribes the *Sefer ha-Yashar*, the authorship of which is still doubtful.³⁵

An unknown Arabic treatise (6 folio pages) on the two substances (*Risalat al-Jauharaini*) is found in a copy of Maimonides' Code, between books 11 and 12.

Of Joseph ibn Chiquitilla's *Proverbs* which Dr. Davidson published from one of our Mss.^{35a} there are three more Mss., one of them accompanied by the author's commentary.

CABBALA

The division of Cabbala is rich in old texts which by far prevail over those of the Lurianic school. The *Hekalot* literature is represented by various Mss. One of them begins with the *Sod*

זה הספר חובר במדינת פאס ראש מלכות בני מא . . . והתחיל לכתוב ממנו ר' יהודה בר' שלמה נ' יחייו וכתב עד פרק יו'. ואחר כך בזמן מלכות המלך אבו סעיד בן המלך אחמד באתי אני הצעיר יהודה בן הרב דון ד[וד] בר' גדליה בר' שלמה בר' יוסף בר' יהודה נ' יחייא ז'ל מעיר לישובאה ראש מלכות פורטוגאלי לזאת המדינה פאס ונתחברתי עם החכם ר' יהודה אלכרסיני המחבר הספר ויען כי ערבו לי דבריו ומאמריו כי הוא זקן נכבד (?) בעל קומה ופראצוף ולו לשון למודים מתוק כז . . . חכם גדול הלכתי אצלו לעיר תיזא עיר קטנה אשר בה הוא שוכן (?). והנה הטה פני חסדו לי ויאהבני והראני בית גנויו ונכח . . . ספרי חכמתו ובתוכם ראיתי זה הספר אשר עדיין לא נראה בארצנו. והחכם הנזכר יצ'ו ביקש ממני בקו . . . ברכה ושאל ממנו מנחה ודורון זה הספר בעבור יהיה לי לזכ[רון] על כן להשפיע מצ . . . שעד שלא אראהו. ואני סיימתי זה הספר י'ו ימים לחדש טון שנת קס"ה לאלף הששי לבריאת עולם . . .

A part of this colophon is very difficult to read as it is faded. Some of the words are written between the lines. A line or two at the end are entirely illegible.

This genealogy does not mention Don Yahya, the father of Juda, whom Gedalya records as first member of the family.

About our copyist see Carmoly, דברי הימים לבני יחיא, p. 12 f, who assumed that he remained in Spain and did not emigrate to Portugal. Our Ms. refutes that.

³⁵ See H. G. Enelow, *Al-Nakawa* IV, p. 315, and Introduction p. 97.

^{35a} *ספר היובל של הדואר*, New York, 1927, p. 116-22.

Darke ha-Shemot wesod ha-Otiath ascribed here to "the scholars of Lunel according to the Great Sanhedrin."³⁶ It includes a cabbalistic interpretation on the unity of God by Maimonides (!) and all kinds of texts ascribed to R. Yishmael. The first deals with *Maase Bereshit*, and is followed by chapters 5–22 of the *Book of Enoch* ed. Odeberg, *calculation of the end* by R. Simon b. Johai, the ordinary *Pirke Hekalot* in which the chapters are not numbered.³⁷ Here as elsewhere there are many variants. There follows a text of *Sefer Koma*, then *Perakim de R. Yishmael* on the names of Metatron and various treatises on the divine names of 42 and 72 letters, one of the former ascribed to Hai, etc. In another Codex chapters 16–47 = 17–48, of the *Enoch Book*, ed. Odeberg, occur; the 48th chapter is copied from different Ms.

Another series of these texts, very much like Ms. Jerusalem 4, parts 3–5, and ending with an enlarged version of chapter 22 B–C of the *Enoch Book* is found at the end of the complete text of Abraham b. Solomon b. Ardutiel's *Abne Zikaron*.³⁸ According to the statement found in the third part of the book³⁹ these texts were added by the author. The volume has on the binding a super-ex-libris of Abraham al-Kolo who, according to Sambari (Neubauer's *Chronicles I*, p. 150) held a high position in Egyptian Jewry.

There is a copy of the *Sefer ha-Kana*, of *Sefer ha-Bahir*—also three pages of a commentary on the latter—, a great many Mss. of the various parts of the *Zohar*, one Spanish, the others mostly Yemenite. While several of them seem to be copied from the edition, others are genuine old Mss. which may be of great

³⁶ סוד דרכי השמות וסוד האותיות וסוד הנקודות וכח הפעולות לחכמי לניל ע"פ סנהדרי גדולה cf. Scholem, *Einige Kabbalistische Hss. im Britischen Museum*, Jerusalem 1932, p. 51.

³⁷ In a Ms. of the Seminary Library (Schwager and Fränkel, Cat. XI, no. 380) this text has 37 chapters, those between 20 and 29 bearing Greek numbers.

³⁸ Evidently the copy to which Scholem refers in his *Perakim le-Toldot Sifrut ha-Kabbala*, Jerusalem 1931, p. 104, Catalogue (note 4) no. 30, p. 3.

³⁹ Scholem, p. 162. The reference there to the drawing of the cabbalistic tree to be found at the end of the book does not occur in the Ms.

interest for the text. There are also some texts of the *Tikkune Zohar*, among them an Italian Ms. which according to the cataloguer contains unknown material; in parts it is collated on the margin. So is a copy of the Mantua edition of this book which is followed by a very full index of Biblical verses as well as by names of accents and vowels quoted in the *Tikkunim* by Menahem b. Abraham da Cordova, Safed 1568.

Among several commentaries on the *Zohar* there is a fragment of *Libnat ha-Sapir* which contains *Toseftas* at the end of every Sidra which are not found in the Jerusalem edition. In Codex Sassoon 183, Cat. p. 74, such *Toseftas* are found at the end of the volume. A copy of Abraham Galante's *Jerah Yakar* is the one mentioned in the Jerusalem Cat. no. 41, p. 104.

Of Abulafia we have a Yemenite copy of his commentary on the *Moreh* and two of the three parts of his *Sefer ha-Heshek*, the loss of which was recently recorded with regret.⁴⁰ The book was composed at Messina, Sicily, at the request (*Heshek*—therefore the title) of Saadya b. Isaac and his young companion Jacob. The author does not give his real name but calls himself נעחאל בן רזיאל בן ששלי בן ישרואל.

In another codex we have chapters 32 and 33 of a treatise on the Divine Name, evidently by Abulafia, a short treatise on the alphabet in the beginning of which the author states that a divine voice called him and urged him to compose a commentary on Maimonides' Guide. He complains that his contemporaries call him a heretic and epicurean. At the end he adds for the benefit of the unnamed person for whom the book was composed answers to the few questions directed to him by others. This Ms. further contains a *Sod* which the author learned from his teacher R. Jehoshafat based on an explanation of two verses by R. Azriel which are printed in Deinard's *Or Meir* (p. 36, bottom from a More Ms. of the Sulzberger collection) as a poem on Maimonides; interpretations by R. Meir b. David (on the number 7), a quotation from Joseph Ezobi's *Sefer ha-Miluim* on *Zitzit*,⁴¹ and four interpretations ascribed to Gabirol; the first

⁴⁰ Scholem, l. c. (note 36), p. 4.

⁴¹ Gross, *Gallia* p. 459, wrongly states that he is quoted by Ibn Adret; actually the editor of the Constantinople edition of Ibn Adret's responsa

is taken from Ibn Ezra's Longer Commentary on Genesis (p. 40 in M. Friedlaender's Essays). The other three are described as taken from his book *Mahberet*. The third is printed in Berliner's *Pletat Sofrim*, p. 28. Geiger (Jüd. Zeitschrift XI, pp. 108-9) rightly remarks that it was taken from Parhon's dictionary and there the other two are also found, though with considerable variants.

A beautiful Spanish Ms. on vellum contains *Maase Bereshit Rabba* and—without title—*Maase Merkaba* with various illustrative figures, probably by David b. Judah he-Hassid.^{41a} By the same author there is also a fragment of *Marot ha-Sobeot*, like the other copies beginning with *Ahare Mot*.⁴²

Of Isaac of Acco there is a fine copy of his *Meirat Enayim* on Nahmanides, and his abridged and annotated translation of Nissim b. Malka's commentary on the *Pirke R. Eliezer*, chapters 1-7. In ch. 3 Isaac translates part III, ch. 10 of the same author's *Uns al-Garib*.⁴³ Various notes of his are found in two small Mss. containing extracts of cabbalistic texts, somewhat like Codex Sassoon 919. In one of his notes he states that he knows by tradition that Nahmanides killed three informers with a certain cabbalistic formula. We find there among others *Sod ha-Yihud* by Mordecai Sabeuni,⁴⁴ various quotations from one *ha-Zaken*, twenty-nine questions of R. Azriel, considerably differing from the edition, interpretations of the prayers for the New Year by R. Eleazar of Worms, an interpretation of twelve diagonals and a treatise addressed to the brothers Samuel and Abraham, etc.

One of the Mss. contains seven treatises of Jesaiah b. Joseph of Tabriz of which only five were known heretofore, though we know that the author wrote eight.⁴⁵

incorporated a fragment of the book into his collection, fol. 35-37 of the reprint, Warsaw 1868-99.

^{41a} Scholem, *Perakim* p. 26.

⁴² Scholem, *Perakim* p. 27 ff, Cat. Sassoon, pp. 1001-1006.

⁴³ See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.* p. 405 f. Another copy is found in Codex Sassoon 919, 33, Cat. p. 1016.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cod. Sassoon 919, 17, 29 and 30, Cat. p. 1013.

⁴⁵ Cf. Register of the Jewish Theological Seminary, 1931, p. 176.

Another volume has the first three of these treatises, together with Shemarya of Crete's commentary on Song of Songs, Chiquitilla's *Shaare Orah* and Ibn Gabai's *Tolaat Jacob*.⁴⁶

The two commentaries on *Mareket ha-Elahut* which are printed with the text are found in the collection separately, without the text, that of Hayyat in a Yemenite copy.

Moses b. Jacob of Kiev's *Shushan Sodot* is represented by three copies; one of them from Yemen is most beautiful.

Judah b. Moses al-Butini *Sulam ha-Aliya*, known through Dr. Scholem's description of Ms. Jerusalem 6, 5, is represented by a considerable fragment. The author is known by his commentary on Maimonides' Code which he wrote in Jerusalem 1518–19.⁴⁷

Ben Jonah, an abridgement of Menahem Azariah da Fano's *Jonat Elem* on 18 leaves, 12 mo. from the Library of the great bibliophile Abraham Graciano (Ish Ger) bears a long inscription⁴⁸ by Graciano which seems to be entirely out of keeping with the small size of the then recent booklet. In order to acquire it, besides making a public announcement, he appealed to the widow of the former owner, her father as guardian of her children, and to the good offices of two relatives.

There are also several collective volumes which unite a number of such texts. One of them, a beautiful vellum book, 12 mo., of over 180 leaves, includes Jacob ha-Cohen's interpretation of the Alphabet published by Scholem (of which there are several other copies in the collection), *Gematriot* on the Pentateuch, like the commentary on the prayer book following it, attributed to Nahmanides, though both come from the school of R. Judah

⁴⁶ Cf. Ms. Jerusalem 15 and Sassoon no. 1060, Cat. pp. 1068–1072.

⁴⁷ Of this commentary Books I–III are extant in Ms. British Museum 499 and Book IV in the Seminary Library. Al-Butini also made a short synopsis of Maimonides' introduction to *Seder Taharot* which Solomon Adeni incorporated into his Mishna commentary and which is printed in the large Mishna edition of Wilna.

⁴⁸ לאברהם גראציאנו למקנה מאת מרת ויטוריא אלמנת כמ' יוסף חיים אגיו בוטי (?) ז"ל כמ' יחיאל ז"ל ומאת אביה כמ' הללויה פואה מרייו יצ"ו בשם היתומים נכדיו בני ר' יוסף ז"ל הנ"ל כמו אפוטרופוס מהם ועם אמצעות ר' מנחם קורקוס ור' יהושע אשכנזי קרוביהם בהכרזה מפורסמת ובמעות מנויות ביום א' י"ו שבט תי"ט לפ"ק פה מודונה.

he-Hasid,⁴⁹ *Keter Shemtob*, and an alphabetical list of names for the *Sefirot*, 30 leaves followed by two shorter chapters of such terms as apply to more than one *Sefira*. In the Ms. they are numbered as 3 with an unnumbered subdivision, while a later hand which collated that part of the Ms. designated them as 6 and 7 and added a good deal to the two pages of the latter. In another Ms. I found this last chapter with the additions as an independent treatise.

In a codex written very closely by a late North-African copyist we find a number of treatises which also occur in Ms. Berlin 193 in different order. It begins with Moses of Burgos' *Treatise on the Ten Sefirot of the Left*,⁵⁰ Isaac ha-Cohen's treatise with the addition published by Toledano⁵¹ from this Ms., Moses de Leon's commentary on the *Merkaba*, the text which Steinschneider calls an anonymous apology to the Cabbala, a very brief interpretation of the *Sefirot* by Yahya b. Hamu and various collectanea, such as: Hai Gaon's famous responsum on the divine names as well as his apocryphal responsa on cabbalistic questions,⁵² the first of which the copyist omitted since it is found in Cordovero's *Pardes*, what the Magid told Joseph Taitazak, a question of Joseph Jalili⁵³ to Abraham b. Mohar of Dara about *Tefillin* on the 9th of Ab. A treatise on the seven methods of calculation used by the cabbalists is found here and in the Ms. described hereafter. A shorter version of the same is taken from *Sefer ha-Tapuah* of Saul Serero. The Ms. concludes with several versions of *Sefer ha-Iyyun* and the beginning of the old *Maase Merkaba* ascribed to R. Yishmael.

In another codex we get a *Mustagab* by Joseph ibn Wakkar on the Ten *Sefirot* with a commentary by the author himself. *Perush ha-Yihud* and *Sefer ha-Iyyun*, the *Treatise on the Unity*

⁴⁹ Another Ms. of these two commentaries in the Library is mentioned in JQR. N. S. II, p. 263.

⁵⁰ Scholem, *Tarbitz* III, p. 272, IV, 208.

⁵¹ *Hazofeh* XIII, pp. 261-267.

⁵² Cf. *Jeshurun* III, pp. 55-57, with a few additional lines at the end. The copyist took these from the introduction to *Kodoshim* of Joseph Alashkar's *Safnat Paneah* of which the Library has two copies.

⁵³ For the author compare Cat. Sassoon p. 1012.

of *God* by Shemtob of Faro which, the copyist states, is ascribed by some to Moses de Leon, by others to Joseph Chiquitilla, or Nahmanides;⁵⁴ Moses de Leon and Joseph ibn Chiquitilla's commentaries on the *Merkaba*, some responsa on liturgical questions by the latter, and the treatise of Abraham Halevi published by Sholem (Kiryat Sefer II, 125-30, Perakim 146-53). By this author there also are some interpretations of Aggadic passages extracted in 1695 from his *Kuntresim* and his interpretation of the prophecy of Nahman as well as the first half of his *Letter on the Secret of Redemption* which fills the gap in Codex Adler 1919.

A treatise of the heretic Abraham Michael Cardoso, *Drush ha-Meiri*, with some critical glosses by Abraham Ashban which was hitherto unknown, may conclude this enumeration.

PHILOLOGY

There are a few texts of special interest in the field of philology. A very old vellum fragment in Arabic on the accents according to Dr. S. L. Skoss forms part of *Hidayat al-Kar* attributed to Judah ibn Balam. A thirteenth century vellum copy of the Yemenite introduction to the Pentateuch published by Dérenbourg as *Manuel du lecteur* is very much shorter than this edition, consisting of only seven folio leaves. It does not contain the numerous extracts from Ibn Janah found there and in all the other Mss. Probably this is the original work which was much enlarged by later scholars. There are a number of copies of the current version, though with variants, as well as of the Arabic text published by Neubauer. Several of these are bound with Bible codices, others occur separately.

An anonymous Spanish Ms. written in beautiful characters under the title *Sefat Emet* turned out to be merely an abridgement of Ibn Yahya's *Leshon Limmudim*.

Of the Yemenite Yahya Salih's *Helek ha-Dikduk* on the Bible there are two copies; the part dealing with the Pentateuch has

⁵⁴ Cf. H. B. IX, p. 20. In another Ms. of the collection it appears without a title under the name of Moses de Leon, while in Ms. Jerusalem 3, 4 Sherira figures as the author.

been published in Jerusalem, in the Yemenite edition of the Pentateuch.

Lexicography is represented by a Spanish copy and some fragments, one on vellum, of David Kimhi's *Shorashim*; by several parts of the *Aruk* in Yemenite handwriting, and by one comprising the first eight letters probably written in Spain in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. There is a copy of Tanhum's *Murshid el-Kafi* without the introduction and several copies of abridgements of this work, agreeing with the Berlin Ms. described by N. M. Nathan.

Eight leaves of an old Yemenite Ms. contain parts of a glossary arranged according to subjects; the first "gate" dealing with names of plants and the second with those of animals, are almost complete. Dafiera's *Imre Noash* may also be mentioned in this connection.

MEDICINE

The fine medical collection of the Library has been enriched by several items in Hebrew and Arabic and by one in Persian. A copy of the Arabic original of Maimonides' dietetics is simply entitled *Treatise on Medicine (Risalet fi'l-Tibbi)*.

A Yemenite collection partly in Hebrew but mostly in Arabic contains extracts or parts from many old Arabic works including some by Yahya b. Suleiman el-Israeli and Suleiman el Israeli. Some pieces are ascribed to Maimonides. The volume also includes *Sefer ha-Margalit* by the poet Salim Shibzi with a supplement by his son Simon.

Of Avicenna's *Canon* there is an oriental Ms., a bulky folio volume of books III and IV and a Spanish Ms., paper and vellum, of book IV.

A fragment of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* with Galen's commentary in Nathan of Cento's translation and one of Abraham Abigdor's translation of Gerard de Solo's commentary to the 9th book of Razi's *Almansuri* with Razi's text on the margin, may also be mentioned.

A *Sefer Refuot* by Jacob b. Solomon Katon, who was active

in Fez in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was copied by his son Judah. The volume consists of over 300 closely written pages and is full of extracts from the works of Greek, Jewish and Arabic physicians and occasionally observations by the author himself, who must have had a very large literature at his disposal. He quotes long extracts from Isaac Israeli, Maimonides and from the lost medical work of Hayyim ibn Musa, to mention just a few Jewish physicians. While the book is written in Hebrew, occasionally Arabic and Spanish texts are quoted in the original,—of course, as in all these Mss. in Hebrew characters—showing that the author used mainly Hebrew translations. The book begins with an *Antidotario* which is followed by a list of *Synonyms* “in Latin,” actually in a Romance language. After that the various kinds of sickness are treated according to the parts of the human body they affect.

SCIENCE

A fine Spanish Ms. of Abraham ibn Ezra's *Reshit Hokma* is followed by the last part of the astronomical section of Levi b. Abraham's Encyclopedic *Sefer Kolem*, chapters 36–40. The 40th chapter gives a very full treatment of mediæval astrology, based mainly on the works of Abraham ibn Ezra.

Mordecai Comtino's *Arithmetic* and *Geometry* are very neatly written with carefully drawn geometrical figures. In the arithmetical part ordinary numerals are used for the examples, and in the first few pages they are repeated in Arabic characters on the margin. There are several Arabic treatises on astronomy by Jewish and Arabic authors. A treatise by Muhammed b. Abu Bekr al-Farisi which is also found in Ms. Berlin 230, was copied in Aden in 1399. Headings and illustrations are in red ink, very carefully done. Al-Tifashi's *Book of Precious Stones* was copied in Damascus in 1627 by Moses Mizrahi. It is followed by miscellaneous texts and in the middle of the volume there is a copperplate of a round zodiac with Hebrew names of the constellations, months, etc. There is, unfortunately, no indication when and where the sheet was produced. Juda of Korasan, whose philosophic work was mentioned above, also wrote a short treatise on

the weather in the course of the year, *Simane Reamim u-Reashim*, of which there are an older Ms. and a modern copy, apparently by Toledano.

MISCELLANEA

There are very few historical texts in the collection. A volume *The Royal Throne (Kise ha-Melakim)* by Raphael Moses b. Samuel b. Judah is probably a compilation of the last century. After the account of the kings that occur in the Bible it deals with Roman and Mohammedan rulers, with special attention to Northern Africa; occasionally notes on Jewish history are interspersed. The Ms. breaks off at the year 1738; the end is missing.

Another small Ms. entitled *Dibre ha-Yamim* contains historical collectanea of Jewish events in North-Africa, partly in Hebrew, partly in Arabic, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, gathered from various sources which are generally indicated.

A genealogy of the Toledano family gives data about numerous North-African scholars.

A moving story is told about the sufferings of an old scholar Shemtob b. Jamil who managed to escape from Spain, whose children, however, were retained and baptised there. At the age of eighty he wrote a book *Keter Shemtob* to perpetuate his name, but only four leaves had survived in this Ms.⁵⁵

There are several copies of the enactments of the Moroccan communities after the expulsion from Spain; the collections of documents and letters by Jacob b. Tzur under the titles *Et Sofer* and *Leshon Limmudim*, other collections of documents from Fez, Jerusalem, Constantinople and Italy, as well as individual items. Among them we have a number of *Ketubot*, some beautifully illuminated, occasional prayers, collections of *Measiot*, etc. As a curiosity a single sheet containing directions in Arabic for dying silk may be mentioned.

Of the considerable collection of homilies there are of special interest: a Spanish copy of the homilies by R. Nissim bar Ruben,

⁵⁵ Published by Toledano, H. U. C. Annual V, 1928, pp. 403-408.

a copy of those by R. Jacob b. Hananael Sikili, *Torat ha-Minha*, copied by Saadya b. David in 1501 and a fragment of Israel Majara's *Mikwe Israel*. The volume of Sikili's covers the middle of Exodus to the beginning of Deuteronomy; it has an introduction to Leviticus from which we learn that the title of the book was chosen because the homilies it contains were delivered on Sabbath after Minha.

The conciseness of this account is due to the exigencies of time and space. Otherwise many of the statements could have been made fuller and a number of additional Mss. could have been discussed. But even so, I hope, the reader will gain an impression of the wealth of new material which has been made accessible to Jewish scholars by this magnificent donation.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

To p. 152. The real author of the *Book of Precepts* is Isaac b. Abraham ibn Farhi and the number of prohibitions it contains is 112. We learn this from the complete Ms. Sassoon 161 (Cat. p. 422) where the introductory poem expressly gives his name. The statement of authorship in our Ms. is accordingly incorrect. My attention was drawn to this Ms. by Scholem's note in *Kirjath Sepher* X 1933, p. 169. As the Catalogue was inaccessible to me at the time since our Library does not possess it I can only make this correction here.

To p. 155. While this paper went through the press an edition of 20 new Yemenite poems from three song books of the new collection by Dr. S. Bernstein appeared in *Tekufatenu* I, London 1933, p. 449-69.

"THE TOBIAS FAMILY AND THE HASMONEANS"

A Historical Study in the Political and Economic Life
of the Jews of the Hellenistic Period.

SOLOMON ZEITLIN

INTRODUCTION

A certain man, according to the historian Josephus, whose name was Joseph, the son of Tobiah, played an important role in the history of the Jews during the Hellenistic period. The Tobias family, of which this Joseph was a member, was a dominant factor in the struggle between the High Priest Jason and his opponent Onias.

Josephus relates in his "Antiquities," XII,¹ that the High Priest Onias I refused to pay the taxes due from him to Ptolemy III. Thereupon, the governor of Jerusalem threatened to destroy the city. Joseph, the son of *Tobiah*, the nephew of this Onias, upon arriving in the city, heard that Jerusalem was in danger because the taxes due Egypt had not been paid. He reproached his uncle, Onias, for exposing Jerusalem to so great a calamity. The High Priest permitted Joseph to go to Alexandria to try to pacify the King. On his arrival in Egypt, Joseph found that he did not have the necessary funds to gain high favor in the royal Court. He approached his friends in Samaria to obtain a loan, which they granted him. In time he found favor in the eyes of the Court of Alexandria, and later was appointed the tax-collector

¹ With regard to the question as to what source Josephus used for his account of Joseph the son of Tobiah in Antiquities, XII, 4, 2-10, scholars differ. Büchler (*Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden*) and Willrich (*Die Juden und Griechen*) are of the opinion that it was a Samaritan source, while Eduard Meyer (*Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*) holds that it is a Jewish source. Tscherikower in his book, *ירושלים, הרצא, היהודים והיונים* (which I think is one of the most important books on the history of the Jews of the Hellenistic period) suggests quite correctly that in addition to other sources Josephus used the chronicles which were written by one of the members of the Tobias family.

not only of Judea but of Coelo-Syria as well^{1a} While he was in Egypt, Josephus further informs us, Joseph, the son of Tobiah, fell in love with a courtesan. In order to win her, he sought the aid of his brother who chanced to be in Alexandria at the time. This brother, hoping to prevent Joseph from transgressing the Jewish law, one night while Joseph was intoxicated brought his own daughter to him in the place of the courtesan. From this union there was born to them a son who was called Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus was the most beloved of Joseph's sons, and aroused the jealousy of his brothers.

This story of Joseph, and his activities in Egypt, is full of anachronisms. Josephus, in his narrative, makes Joseph the tax-collector of Coelo-Syria in the time of Antiochus III. But, at that time, Coelo-Syria was not under Egyptian rule, but was in the possession of the Syrians. Furthermore, Josephus gives the name of the wife of Ptolemy III as Cleopatra, when, in truth, her name was Berenice. The account given by Josephus is undoubtedly interspersed with legends. Therefore many scholars maintain that the entire story of Joseph and the Tobias family is of a legendary nature.²

Although the story as given by Josephus is ambiguous, I believe that it cannot be entirely dismissed as a myth. Throughout the writings of Josephus, we find many historical accounts replete with anachronisms; nevertheless, we cannot dismiss the historical data of his narrative as completely spurious. We can illustrate this by the following example. Josephus tells us, in *Bellum Judaicum*, 1, 22, 2, that Herod instructed the Gauls to drown the High Priest Aristobulus. This took place, we know, in 35 B.C.E. But, it is known that Herod first received the Gauls from Octavius Caesar in the year 30 B.C.E. after the death of Cleopatra,³ five years after the real drowning of Aristobulus. Therefore, Herod could not have instructed the Gauls to commit this

^{1a} Tscherikower, is quite right in his assumption that Joseph was in Egypt twice. The first time when he went there to try to pacify the king, and the second time approximately in the year 230-27, with the idea of getting the appointment as tax collector of Judea and of Coelo-Syria.

² See Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 231.

³ Ant. XV, 7, 3, B. J. I, 20, 3.

act. This anachronism, however, does not negate the essential fact in the story of Aristobulus, namely, that he was drowned.

Although Josephus may have interwoven many anachronisms and much legendary material with his account of the Tobias family, I believe, nevertheless, that the Tobias family is not a figment of the imagination. The fact is that we do find in the Zeno-Papyri⁴ the mention of a man by the name of Tobiah, who was an official in the Alexandrian Court, and in that capacity supplied horses to Ptolemy II. Moreover, the author of the Second Book of Maccabees states that a man by the name of Hyrcanus, son of Tobiah (the family of Tobias) was a loyal supporter of the Ptolemies.⁵ This, I believe, would substantiate the essential truth of the narrative as given by Josephus concerning the Tobias family.

The question now arises: Who was this Joseph, son of Tobiah? And, what part did the Tobias family play in shaping Jewish history during the Hellenistic period? Furthermore, what were the underlying reasons which compelled the Tobias family to side with the Syrian Court against the Egyptians? Particularly what caused the Jewish reaction against the Tobias family, with their attempted *Hellenization* of Judea? It was this reaction which brought about the ultimate victory of the Maccabeans over the Syrians, and resulted in the establishment of an independent Jewish State. To possess an adequate understanding of the part the Tobias family played in Jewish history, it is necessary to survey briefly the history of the Jews, beginning with the conquest of Judea by Alexander the Great.

I

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

After the Battle of Issus in the year 332 B.C.E., Alexander marched with his army along the Phoenician coast towards Egypt. The only city on the Phoenician coast which would not submit to Alexander was Tyre. After a siege of seven months,⁶ the city was conquered, and the entire plain was laid open for Alexander's

⁴ Zeno Papyri, pub. by Edgar, 1919.

⁵ II Macc. 3, 11. Comp. also below ch. IV.

⁶ Diodorus, XVII, 4; Ant. XI, 8, 4.

armies to march on into Egypt. Alexander continued his journey towards his objective by the immemorial route along the Mediterranean coast. In the course of his expedition, he met with opposition from the city of Gaza,⁷ which he successfully overcame in the Autumn of 332 B.C.E. A talmudic story relates that Simon, the High Priest, came out of Jerusalem to welcome Alexander to the city. Alexander is supposed to have offered sacrifices to God in the Temple of Jerusalem as a token of appreciation for the hearty welcome accorded him by the Jews.⁸ But this story is undoubtedly legendary. Alexander did not visit Jerusalem. He went directly from Tyre by way of Gaza to Egypt, and visited neither Samaria nor Jerusalem.⁹ Moreover, the High Priest in Jerusalem at the time of Alexander's expedition was not Simon but Jaddua.¹⁰

It is very likely that, before Tyre had been conquered by the Macedonian, the High Priest Jaddua did not join Alexander because of the uncertainty which marked the relations between Persia and Macedonia. But after Tyre had been crushed by Alexander, the High Priest of Jerusalem deemed it advantageous to the interests of his country to submit to the conquering Greek. To pacify the King and to win his confidence, the High Priest Jaddua, together with the Elders of Jerusalem, all dressed in white garments, came as a delegation to present themselves before Alexander. The Jews demonstrated their loyalty to the King, and showed their readiness to obey the Macedonian rule. This impressed the King deeply, and in his turn he favored the Jews with immunity from taxes for the year 332–331, in as much as it chanced to be a sabbatical year.^{10a}

Sanballat, the leader of the Samaritans, thought the moment ripe for the realization of an old dream—building their own Temple on Mount Gerizim. In order to gain favor in the eyes of

⁷ Arrian, II, 25–26; Ant. Ibid.

⁸ Joma 69a; Elsewhere I pointed out that the story told in the Talmud that the High Priest Simon welcomed Alexander to Jerusalem refers to the welcome that Simon the Just gave to Antiochus III. See נר מערבי 1924.

⁹ According to Arrian II Alexander appointed Manon as a satrap over Coele Syria. Comp. also, Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*.

¹⁰ Josephus, Ant. XI, 8, 4.

^{10a} 332–31 was a sabbatical year, see S. Zeitlin, Megillat Taanit ch. III.

Alexander, he gathered an army of seven thousand men, and joined the Macedonian in his attack upon Tyre. Sanballat now felt that he could justly plead before Alexander that the Samaritans be permitted to build a Temple on their sacred Mount,¹¹ in competition with the Temple of Jerusalem, although Alexander gave the requested permission he favored the Jews more than the Samaritans. In addition to being a military genius, Alexander was a "*realpolitiker*," and he was fully aware of the fact that, if he was to gain the confidence and support of the Jews in the Diaspora in his military campaign against Darius, he would find it most advisable to favor the Jews in Judea beyond their enemies the Samaritans.

Although Judea was a much smaller and less prosperous territory than Samaria, Alexander favored it over its rival. The bulk of the Jews lived outside of Judea in such countries as Babylonia, Persia, and in the cities along the Mediterranean coast. Hence, Alexander sought the good-will of these Jews of the Diaspora by favoring Jerusalem and the inhabitants of Judea.¹² Moreover, he exempted the Jews from paying tribute for the annexed district as well as for Judea for the year 332-331 B.C.E.¹³ This was a general policy of Alexander—to free the cities from payment of taxes to the Persian King. He was anxious to appear in the eyes of the conquered people in the garb of a liberator.

Alexander died suddenly in the Summer of 323.¹⁴ His death came before he could complete the reorganization of the new Empire. Upon his death, the entire Empire of the mighty Greek was divided into provinces. Egypt was entrusted to Ptolemy. But Ptolemy, on receiving Egypt as his province, was not satisfied. He immediately overstepped his trust,¹⁵ and showed ambition to become King of Egypt.

¹¹ See Appendix A.

¹² It is probable that a district of Samaria consisting of three cities, Apahaerema, Lydda, and Ramathim, was added by Alexander to Judea, and this was confirmed by Demetrius II in his letter to Jonathan. I Macc. 10, 30. Comp. Tal. San. 91a.

¹³ Ant. XI.

¹⁴ Josephus C. Ap., I, 22; See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II, 176.

¹⁵ Ant. XII, 1, 1.

II

THE JEWS AND THE PTOLEMIES

Ptolemy, in order to strengthen his position in Egypt and to prevent an attack by the Syrians, invaded Palestine and Phoenicia,¹⁶ and captured the satrap Laomedon. In the year 320 he captured Jerusalem, entering the city on the Sabbath¹⁷ when the Jews, because of the old halakah that prohibited them from carrying arms upon the Sabbath, could not resist him with arms. Ptolemy, however, could not tarry long in Palestine because the army of Antigonus was approaching by land. He thought it best to retreat to Egypt.¹⁸ In 312 Ptolemy, together with Seleucus, defeated the fleet of Demetrius (Antigonus' son) opposite Gaza, and thus became again master of Judea and Phoenicia.¹⁹ When Ptolemy learned of Antigonus' approach to Phoenicia and Judea with a large army, he decided not to wage war with Antigonus on Phoenician territory, but to return to Egypt where he could more advantageously defend himself.²⁰

Upon retreating from Coelo-Syria, Ptolemy destroyed many cities, among them, Samaria, Joppa, and Gaza.^{20a} There is no mention in the sources that Jerusalem was laid waste by Ptolemy, yet we may safely assume that Jerusalem suffered as much as the other cities. He carried with him into Egypt many Jews whom he distributed among his various military camps. Some of them he took with him to his capital, Alexandria. In addition to the Jewish captives, he also invited many Jews of the aristocratic class to settle in Alexandria. Among the latter were many priests; and one of particular distinction was Hezekiah, a member of the family of High Priests.²¹

In 303 an alliance was formed between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander. According to the treaty which est-

¹⁶ Diodorus, XVIII, 3; See also Bevan, *The History of Egypt*, p. 24.

¹⁷ Ant. XII, 1, 1.

¹⁸ Diodorus, *ibid.*, Bevan, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Diodorus, XIX, 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

^{20a} *Ibid.*

²¹ C. Ap., 1, 22.

abished this alliance, Coelo-Syria (which included Phoenicia and Judea) was assigned to Ptolemy. The next year Ptolemy took possession of and established himself in Phoenicia and Judea. But when he received a message that Lysimachus had been defeated by Antigonus, he hastily gave up Judea.²² In 301 the army of Antigonus was completely destroyed in the Battle of Ipsus, and the former Empire of Alexander underwent another division. Syria, including Judea, was now given to Seleucus.²³ Since Ptolemy did not participate in the battle against Antigonus, Seleucus and his allies were of the opinion that Ptolemy had deserted the common cause and that his claim upon Judea, by reason of the earlier treaty, was forfeited. When Seleucus attempted to take possession of the territory assigned him, he found that Judea had already been occupied by Ptolemy. The only thing that remained for Seleucus to do was to wage war against Ptolemy. But, since Ptolemy had been his old ally to whom he was indebted for the success of his career, he declared that for the present he would not take any active military measures against Ptolemy. But he did not renounce his rights to Coelo-Syria.²⁴ Thus Coelo-Syria remained an unsettled issue between the two kingdoms, Syria and Egypt for a long time. The Syrian King, Seleucus, did not surrender his rights to Judea and Phoenicia as given him by the Treaty of 301, while the Ptolemies maintained that in the pre-war Treaty of 303, Judea and Phoenicia had been assigned to them. Furthermore, they also claimed that Seleucus had confirmed their right to Phoenicia and Judea as the price of neutrality by Ptolemy in the war between Lysimachus and Seleucus.

The Ptolemies followed Alexander's policy of tolerance toward other religions. They never forced Hellenism upon the conquered peoples. The means they adopted to Hellenize the subject nations

²² Diodorus, XX, 5; See Bevan, *op. cit.* p. 32.

²³ The allies after their victory over Antigonus decided that the whole of Syria should be transferred to Seleucus. Polybius, V, 67.

²⁴ According Bouch -Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 1, Ptolemy took possession of Coelo-Syria only in the year 281 after the death of Seleucus.

were the spreading of culture and the building of cities.²⁵ To facilitate their work the Ptolemies invited Greeks to settle in the Orient and granted them special privileges. Some of the cities were permitted to issue their own coinage; this was the case with Gaza. Commerce was helped to flourish, and cities began to grow. But these Hellenistic cities were populated not only by Greeks, but by other races as well, among them Jews. As a result of the constant warfare waged between Ptolemy and Seleucus, many of the inhabitants of these cities were slaves who were employed mainly in the fields and workshops.

The Ptolemies strove to make the city of Alexandria another Athens in culture and commerce. A deep harbor was built from which vessels, carrying Egyptian goods, made their way to India and China via the Red Sea, and to Byzantine on the Black Sea. Alexandria became the world's greatest market for the slave traffic. By reason of the fact that slaves were brought from various countries, especially from Syria and Palestine, it is reasonable to suppose that Alexandria contained a great number of Jewish slaves.

That Alexandria might excel even Athens in culture, the Ptolemies invited to their residence great scholars, poets, writers, and sculptors. A library was founded in a magnificent building; it later became the greatest library in the ancient world. A museum (a house for the muses) was established, and associated with it was a Society of Scholars, men of letters, who devoted their entire life to Science and Philosophy.²⁶ For scientific research a library as well as a zoological garden were placed at their disposal. It was the first Society of this type ever maintained by the State. The State was intensely interested in Hellenizing the diverse elements of the population, and to that end established elementary schools where the inhabitants were taught the Greek

²⁵ Philadelphia (Rabbath-Amon) in Transjordan; Philoterria on the Lake Genesareth; Ptolomais (Ake). See Tscherikower, יהודים והיונים, ירושלים, תרצ"א.

²⁶ See Strabo, Geography, XVII Bevan, op. cit. Rostovzeff, *A History of the ancient world*, XXV; Mohaffy, Empire of Ptolemies.

language. In this way the State hoped to mould the different races into a homogeneous group. The privileged class among the Jews hungrily absorbed the Hellenistic culture, learned to speak Greek, and gradually became assimilated to the people among whom they lived. Their children grew up in this environment. Without the Greek language and culture, the members of this class could not have felt at home.

Tradition has it that Ptolemy Philadelphus became interested in the Hebrew Bible, and asked Eleazar the High Priest to send him men of learning to translate it into Greek. Accordingly, the High Priest sent him seventy-two men, and the translation was made which has come down to us as the "Septuagint." This story that seventy-two elders were sent by Eleazar²⁷ to Alexandria may or may not be historically true, but that the Pentateuch was translated in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus seems to be a historical fact.²⁸ This translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, I believe, was not brought about by Ptolemy but by the Jews themselves. Most of the Jews of the privileged class did not speak nor understand Hebrew, having been reared in an environment of Greek culture, and it was therefore necessary to have the Bible translated into the language they spoke.²⁹ There was another reason, moreover, that might help to explain the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular at this time; a reason sinister in its import. At that time, a Greek Egyptian historian, Manetho by name, wrote a history of Egypt in Greek. In this history he accused the Jews of having been expelled from Egypt in the days of the Pharaohs because of leprosy.³⁰ The Jews of Alexandria wanted their fellow-citizens

²⁷ Letter of Aristoeas; Jos. Ant. XII, 2. Talmud Meg. 9a. According to one tradition given in the Talmud, seventy-two men translated the Pentateuch, while according to another tradition 5 elders had translated the Torah. Sof. 1, 7.)

²⁸ According to the late Prof. M. L. Margolis, Joshua was also translated at the same time as the Torah.

²⁹ The Jews of Alexandria were called Alexandrians and Josephus designated them by this name. B. J. II, 18, 7, 19. See Appendix B.

³⁰ C. Ap. I. Manetho was the first person who wrote against the Jews. Part of his writings is quoted by Josephus in Contra Apion. Comp. Stähelin. *Der Antisemitismus des Allertums*.

to know that they had not been driven out of Egypt because of leprosy, but had gone out of their own free-will. They sought also to impress their neighbors with the antiquity of the Jewish race, and the glory of their history. They desired, furthermore, to exalt their past by emulating the great Law-giver and Philosopher of their people, Moses. They sought, therefore, to uncover the treasury of the Bible and make its splendors accessible to the Hellenists. The Ptolemaic Court was pleased with the idea that the Jews were translating their sacred Book into Greek, for this fitted in with their general policy of Hellenization.

Striving to make Alexandria a new Athens which should become a center of the world and dominate the culture of the times, the Ptolemies, not only invited and encouraged men of letters and Philosophers to settle there, they endeavored to meet the cultural needs of the different races which lived in Alexandria by sponsoring editions of various works in Greek. The purpose of this policy was undoubtedly to make the different racial groups independent of their mother countries. The translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek was favored by the Ptolemies because, in the study of their sacred books, it made the Alexandrian Jews independent of Jerusalem.³¹ For the same reason, Josephus tells us, Ptolemy I imported a priest by the name of Hezekiah, of the High Priestly family, in order to give the Jews of Alexandria firmer ground for their independent religious life.³² Furthermore, Ptolemy II or Ptolemy III gave the Jewish Proseuche (Synagogue) the status of an Asylum, thus setting it on a par with the Greek and Egyptian Temples.³³

³¹ It is possible that the Pentateuch was not only translated but was also transliterated into Greek for the benefit of the Jews who wanted to read the Torah in the sacred tongue but were unable to read the Hebrew script. See Gaster, *The Samaritans*. See L. Blau, *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, Budapest, 1894; F. Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus*, 1925.

³² C. Ap. 11.

³³ S. Zeitlin, *The Origin of the Synagogue*, p. 79, Note 39. Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research, 1930-1931.

III

THE JEWS AND THE SELEUCIDES

In the year 247-6 Ptolemy Philadelphus died. His son succeeded him under the name of Ptolemy Euergetes. In the first year of his reign he led his army against Seleucus in Syria to avenge the murder of his sister, Berenice.³⁴ He conquered the entire country as far as the Taurus, and then returned to Egypt. (According to Josephus, Ptolemy stopped in Jerusalem on his homeward journey to bring sacrifices to the Temple as a token of gratefulness for his victory over Seleucus.)³⁵ In the year 242, however, the tide turned against Ptolemy, for Seleucus, with his army, crossed the Taurus, and recovered most of the Seleucidæ-Syria.³⁶ Two years later a peace treaty was signed between Seleucus and Ptolemy. Unlike the previous wars between the Egyptians and the Syrians, this war, known as the *Laodicean War*,³⁷ was not fought on Palestinian soil. Nevertheless, the Jews must have suffered greatly, and were quite hesitant as to whether to throw in their fortunes with the Syrians or the Egyptians.

Polybius³⁸ tells us that the Syrian people favored the Ptolemies rather than the Seleucids in the struggle for the domination of Syria. This statement of Polybius, I believe, does not refer to the Jewish population of Palestine. With the exception of the wealthier class of Jews who had business relations with Egypt, we may safely assume that the bulk of the Jews especially the High Priest favored the Seleucides. The reason for this attitude is readily understood. Since the time of the Restoration up to the year 301, the Palestinian Jews and the Jews of the Diaspora were united and lived under one rule, first under the Persian regime, and then under Alexander. After the latter's death,

³⁴ Justin, XXVII, 1. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Chap. X; Idem. *History of Egypt*, Chap. VII.

³⁵ C. Ap. II, 5.

³⁶ Justin, XXVII, 2; Bevan, op. cit.

³⁷ As it was called in ancient times Laodicean War, the war against the Queen Laodice, the mother of Seleucus II, the murderess of Berenice, the sister of Ptolemy. Comp. Daniel, XI, 6-9.

³⁸ Polybius, V, 86.

Coelo-Syria and Babylon were united, at first under Antigonos, and later under Seleucus. The Babylonian Jews in their religion were closer to the Palestinian Jews than were the Jews of Egypt. From the Babylonian and Persian Jews came the main support for the Temple in Jerusalem. The Babylonian Jews spoke an Aramaic which was similar to that of the Palestinian Jews. Therefore Palestine Jewry felt a deeper bond of kinship with Babylonian Jewry than with the Jews of Alexandria who spoke Greek, a language foreign to the psychology of the Palestinian Jews. The Temple administration was more interested that the two Jewries, Palestinian and Babylonian, should be united under the one flag of the Seleucides. For it well knew that, if Palestine should be united with Egypt, the Temple would lose great income, since the Jews of Babylon would find it difficult to continue their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or to send their gifts and sacrifices to the Temple. Therefore, in the conflict between Ptolemy III and Seleucus, the High Priest whose name was Onias II allied himself with the Syrian King.

When Seleucus crossed the Taurus in 242 and defeated Ptolemy III, Onias II, who was sympathetic to the Syrian cause, now refused to pay his tribute of 20 talents to Ptolemy.³⁹ (This small sum, apparently, was paid by the High Priest as a personal tribute).⁴⁰ Ptolemy, thereupon, sent a representative to Jerusalem to threaten the High Priest with seizure of the country if the latter failed to pay his taxes. The High Priest stood by his decision, and would not pay the taxes. It was for this act that he was reproached by his nephew, Joseph, the son of Tobiah, who said that he was endangering his country.⁴¹ Joseph, as well as his father Tobiah, had business connections with the Ptolemaic Court, and thought it more advisable to stand in well with the Ptolemies. Joseph was of the opinion that Palestine would benefit more commercially from alliance with Egypt than with Babylonia, for Egypt controlled the Mediterranean coast while Babylonia was far inland. The uncle and the nephew approached this problem from different points of view, dictated by their

³⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* XII, 4, 1.

⁴⁰ See Tscherikower, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Josephus, *Ibid.*

different interests. Although the High Priest could not subscribe to his nephew's view, he was willing to permit him to take the situation in his own hands. Thereupon, Joseph called an Ecclesia⁴² (an assembly) of the leaders in the Temple, and exhorted them to be loyal to the Ptolemies. He proposed that he himself go as ambassador to Ptolemy in order to demonstrate to him the goodwill of the Jews.

Joseph, having persuaded the governor of Jerusalem, embarked for Alexandria to meet the King. His intention, apparently, was to become tax-collector of Judea, which position was held by his uncle, the High Priest. While in Alexandria, Joseph became friendly with the members of the Court, and aspired, through bribery, to become the tax-collector of Coelo-Syria. For this, however, he needed money. This he was able to borrow from his friends in Samaria; for, although there was great animosity between the Jews and the Samaritans, this did not prevent Joseph from obtaining funds from his Samaritan friends, for commerce often transcends inimical national differences. With this money he was able to bribe members of the Alexandrian Court, and was appointed the head tax-collector of entire Coelo-Syria.⁴³ In order that he might find it easier to collect the taxes, Ptolemy supplied him with a military force.⁴⁴

In this position Joseph amassed a large fortune, and became one of the wealthiest men of Coelo-Syria. Jerusalem, which was an obscure city surrounded by the Judean hills, became important because there the head tax-collector had his seat. Many of the sub-collectors and principal men travelled to Jerusalem, and some of them even had their domiciles in the city. With the advent of Joseph as tax-collector, the life of the Jews underwent a great change. Prior to the days of Joseph, Jewish life was largely guided by the spiritual leader in the person of the High Priest of the Temple. When Joseph appeared on the scene in Jerusalem, the leadership passed on to him, and later to his sons who are known as "sons of Tobias." Thus the leadership

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Joseph had been appointed to the position of tax collector later circa 230-27. See Tscherikower, *op. cit.* pp. 169-70.

⁴⁴ See Josephus, *Ibid.*

of the community passed from the hands of the Pontiff, the spiritual leader, to the head tax-collector, representative of the wealthy class whose dominant interest lay in the commerce of the country.

The Jews as a whole had practically no intercourse with the Ptolemaic Court, or with the Hellenistic cities of Coelo-Syria. But Joseph and his hirelings were in frequent contact with the Alexandrian Court, and mingled quite often with the Greek aristocracy, thus being constantly influenced by the cultural environment. Through social and economic forces, the wealthy class became more and more Hellenized. This eventually caused the assimilation of the family of the "sons of Tobias," and the other members of the wealth-owning group. Their language apparently was Greek. Their entire mode of life was that of the Hellenes.

In the year 221 Ptolemy III died,^{44a} and was succeeded by his son who came to the throne as Ptolemy IV, called Ptolemy Philopator. Two years prior to the death of Ptolemy III, Seleucus III had passed away, and had been succeeded by Antiochus III. Antiochus felt that this was the proper time for him to recapture Coelo-Syria from the Ptolemies. In 220 the Syrian army marched upon Coelo-Syria, and in the Spring of the following year, Antiochus conquered most of the important cities in Coelo-Syria, and Transjordan. The Egyptian army was routed. However, in 217 the tide of battle changed, and at Raphia Antiochus' army was completely crushed. Coelo-Syria and Palestine passed again to the House of the Ptolemies.

In this conflict between Antiochus and Ptolemy, the Jews sided with the latter. Joseph, the son of Tobiah, was the head tax-collector for the Ptolemian Court, and at the time was also leader of the Jews. In the third Book of the Maccabees a story is told to the effect that Ptolemy, after his great victory over the Syrian army, visited Jerusalem. The King tried to enter the Temple but was prevented by the Jews. This aroused his ire against them.⁴⁵ Although the third Book of the Maccabees is

^{44a} According to Justin, he was murdered by his son, see Pol, II.

⁴⁵ See III Maccabees, 2-3.

not a historical work, but primarily theological,⁴⁶ we may assume, nevertheless, that Ptolemy was in Jerusalem. Polybius tells us that Ptolemy, after the Battle of Raphia, spent three months in Coelo-Syria.⁴⁷ In all probability, Ptolemy, during this long stay in Coelo-Syria, visited Jerusalem, for it was the capital of the Jewish State, and the headquarters of the head tax-collector of Coelo-Syria. It is reasonable to suppose therefore, that Ptolemy Philopator while in Jerusalem, would have a desire to visit the Temple, especially since he was himself considered as a divinity and was worshipped alongside the gods in almost every Temple in Egypt.⁴⁸ However, that he entered the Temple in Jerusalem, or was prevented from doing so by the Jews, is a matter of pure conjecture.

In the year 210-209 a son was born to Ptolemy Philopator. Joseph, who was already advanced in age and could not very well attend the birthday celebration given at the Court by the King in honor of his son, delegated his son Hyrcanus to go in his stead.⁴⁹ Hyrcanus resembled his father. He was energetic, shrewd, persistent, and ambitious. While in Alexandria, he spent his father's money very freely among the officials of the Court, in order to make contacts and establish favorable relations; this with an eye to succeed his father in the office of head tax-collector. Hyrcanus' ambitions did not please his father and certainly not his brothers.⁵⁰ His brothers had always disliked him,

⁴⁶ See Emmet, Introduction to III Maccabees in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, I.

⁴⁷ Polybius V, 87; Bevan, op. cit.; Niese, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten*, II, pp. 375-8.

⁴⁸ The author of III Maccabees narrates that Ptolemy Philopator compelled the Jews of Alexandria to worship the gods of the country and the man who refused to do so would lose his citizenship and would be made a slave. Schürer *Geschichte*, III is of the opinion that there is no historical basis for the account which is given in III Maccabees. Comp. however, Büchler, *Tobiaden und Oniaden*,¹⁷² Willrich, *Der Historische Kern des III Makk.* Hermes, XXXIX, 1904, p. 244; Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens in Ptolemäischer und Römischer Zeit*, 1924 (9 n. 6), Josephus in *Contra Apion* gives a similar story at the time of Ptolemy VII. (145-116.)

⁴⁹ Josephus, Ant. XII.

⁵⁰ Hyrcanus was their step-brother, being the child of an illicit relationship between Joseph and his niece.

but now they feared that he might succeed to the position of head tax-collector, since he was popular in the Alexandrian Court. They, therefore, conspired against him, and schemed to kill him upon his return from Alexandria to Jerusalem. In the struggle that took place between himself and his brothers, two of the latter were slain.⁵¹ Hyrcanus, upon his return to Jerusalem, received a cold reception from his father as well as from the people.

In the year 203 Ptolemy Philopator died, and his son who was then but seven years of age succeeded him as Ptolemy V, called Ptolemy Epiphanes. Antiochus III, King of Syria, considered the time ripe to re-conquer Coelo-Syria, and declared war on Egypt. In 202 Antiochus invaded Coelo-Syria⁵² and drove the Ptolemaic army back into the desert between Palestine and Egypt. In this conflict the Jews sided with Antiochus III, since Joseph, the son of Tobiah, responsible for the pro-Egyptian policy of the Jews, was no longer living.⁵³ The sons of Joseph sided with Syria, since Hyrcanus (their step-brother and rival) was a favorite at the Alexandrian Court. The High Priest, who was at that time Simon II, known as the Just, the son of Onias II, likewise sided with Antiochus. Simon II, as did his father before him, thought it best for the Jews and the Temple to be united with Babylonia. Thus the Jews in Jerusalem were divided into two factions: one, under the leadership of Simon the Just (and the sons of Joseph), who favored Antiochus, and the other, under the leadership of Hyrcanus, who favored Ptolemy. To decide this important political issue, the gerusia was convened. At this assembly, the adherents of Antiochus were victorious.

When Antiochus and his army appeared at the gates of Jerusalem, a delegation of the Elders, headed by Simon the Just, came out to welcome the King.⁵⁴ But again the tide of fortune changed, And in the Winter of 201, Scopas, the general of the Ptolemaic

⁵¹ Josephus, Ant. XII.

⁵² Polybius, XV; Bevan, op. cit.; Niese, op. cit.

⁵³ According to Josephus Ant. XII, Joseph held the position for twenty-two years. He became the tax collector circa 230-27. See Tscherikower, op. cit.

⁵⁴ Ant. Ibid. See S. Zeitlin; נר מערב, 1924. [מרישי] שמעון הצדיק היה משיירי.

army, succeeded in recapturing a number of cities in Palestine.⁵⁵ Jerusalem again passed into the hands of the Ptolemies. Scopas placed a garrison in Jerusalem, and the supporters of Antiochus suffered severely at the hands of the Egyptian forces. In the year 199 Antiochus came for the third time to recapture Coelo-Syria. In the Battle of Panion (a place near the source of the Jordan River) Antiochus won a decisive victory over the Ptolemaean army.⁵⁶ Palestine was now lost to the Ptolemies forever, after having been under their rule for almost a century. It became a part of Syria once again.

For the support extended him in his second campaign against Ptolemy, Antiochus rewarded the Jews.⁵⁷ He exempted them from paying taxes for three years. Members of the *Synod*—priests, scribes, and the Temple-singers—were exempt from paying poll-tax and crown-tax. He supplied the Jews with lumber, taken from the forest of Lebanon, free from duty, to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and the cloisters of the Temple. He contributed a certain sum of money for sacrificial purposes, and allowed those who had formerly fled from the city to return to their homes. He restored to those who had been sold into slavery freedom. In this Edict of Privileges Antiochus granted the Jews the right to live according to the laws of their country. Non-Jews were prohibited from entering the Temple under the penalty of death.⁵⁸

In 192 a treaty was signed between Antiochus and Ptolemy. To make this bond of friendship between the two nations more lasting, a marriage alliance was arranged between the two families. Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, was given in marriage to Ptolemy V. As a dowry for Cleopatra the revenue of Coelo-Syria was assigned. A part of this revenue, however, was retained to meet the expense of the Syrian administration in

⁵⁵ Ant. Ibid.; Polybius XVI, 39.

⁵⁶ Ant. Ibid.; Livy, XXXIII, 19.

⁵⁷ Ant. Ibid. Hugo Willrich, *Juden und Griechen*, 39; Büchler, *op. cit.* 159. Niese, *op. cit.* II 579, N. III; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus II*, ap. E.

⁵⁸ Josephus, B. J., 1, 2, 4, tells us that the Romans gave the right to the Jews to put to death any Roman who should enter the Temple area.

Coelo-Syria.⁵⁹ Whether the sons of Joseph continued to be the collectors of the revenue of Coelo-Syria, as their father had been before them at the Alexandrian Court, we do not know. The sources are silent. Naturally it is difficult to speculate one way or the other. The revenue of Judea, however, we may safely assume, was collected by the sons of Joseph, and not by their cousin the High Priest, Simon the Just, as had been done before the time of Joseph.

IV

THE HELLENISTIC PARTY

In 187 Antiochus III died and was succeeded by his son Seleucus. Hyrcanus, the youngest son of Joseph, head of the Ptolemaic party, had been compelled to leave Jerusalem when the people decided to support Antiochus against Ptolemy. Now that Antiochus was dead and the High Priest Simon no longer living, Hyrcanus and his followers tried to break into the city. But the sons of Joseph maintained the upper hand, and Hyrcanus was routed. He retired to Transjordan. There he waged war against the Arabian tribes. Some of them he subdued, and ruled over them, according to Josephus, for seven years.⁶⁰

After the death of Simon the Just, his son Onias III became High Priest. Unlike his predecessors, Onias was no longer in

⁵⁹ Ant. XII, 4, 1. According to Polybius XXVIII, 20, the Alexandrian court at the time of Ptolemy VI, maintained that Coelo-Syria was transferred to Egypt as a part of the dowry for Cleopatra. Comp. Daniel XI, 17. בְּחַ
הַנְּשִׂים יִתֵּן לוֹ J. A. Montgomery, *a critical and exegetical commentary of the Book of Daniel*.

⁶⁰ Ant. XII, 7. Hyrcanus after receiving word that Antiochus IV had become king, committed suicide. His tragic death gave rise to many hypotheses. According to Gressmann, *Die Ammonitischen Tobiaden, Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXIX, 1921. Hyrcanus' end is the foundation of the popular idea of the Messiah ben Joseph. This is not the place to discuss that idea. I may state, however, that the idea of Messiah ben Joseph came to the Jews after the catastrophe of Bar Kokba. Bar Kokba was proclaimed by many Jewish leaders as the Messiah and he was killed. This gave rise to the idea that he was only the first Messiah, the son of Joseph, who is supposed to be killed before the appearance of the Messiah, the son of David.

sympathy with the Syrian King, but became a warm adherent of the Alexandrian Court. He joined hands with his cousin Hyrcanus. This change in the policy of the Temple Pontiff was due, I believe, to the following reasons. Simon the Just followed the policy of his predecessors which was pro-Syrian because they had hoped that the revenue of the Temple in Jerusalem would be greater if Jerusalem was united with Syria. The bulk of the Jews lived in the upper lands, Babylonia and Persia. But in the last year of Antiochus' reign the road from Jerusalem to the upper lands was a scene of disturbances. This prevented the Jews in the upper lands from going to Jerusalem and from sending their gifts to the Temple. In the last two generations, on the other hand, the Jews of Egypt had increased in numbers and had become a thickly populated community. If Palestine were united to Egypt the Temple and its Priests would derive benefit from the Jews who lived so near to Jerusalem.

An additional reason fostered this change of policy of the High Priest. The brothers of Joseph assumed dominating power in Palestine, and even became rivals for the position of High Priest.⁶¹ One of the "sons of Joseph" named Simon became captain of the Temple.⁶² A hot controversy arose between this Simon, the captain of the Temple, and his cousin Onias, the

⁶¹ The passage in Ben Sira L, 24, reads as follows: "May His mercy be established with Simeon, and may He raise up for him the covenant of Phinehas; may one never be cut off from Him; And as to his seed (may it be) as the days of Heaven." This may be applied to the High Priest Onias III, when the sons of Joseph, Simon and Menelaus, tried to usurp the office of high priest from Onias. Ben Sira as a pious Jew and most devoted to Simon II, the Just, prays to God that the priesthood should not cease from Simon's lineage, and that the covenant of Phinehas should never be broken with Simon's children. See S. Zeitlin, *A Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, 1933, p. 26.

⁶² II Macc. III, 4, "A certain Simon of the family of Benjamin who was the captain in the Temple." *προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. Some scholars maintain that this Simon was of the tribe of Benjamin, and therefore was not priest. The word *φύλη*, however may mean tribe, but also family, Simon was of the family of Benjamin which was a priestly family. Comp. Tos. Tan. III. אמר אלעזר בן צדוק אני הייתי מבני שנאה בן בנימין Eliezer was a priest and he was of the family of Benjamin. See Ap. C.

High Priest, as to the control of the Jerusalem market.⁶³ This position was very important because the man in charge of the city market controlled the entire economic life of the inhabitants. Apparently this control of the market belonged to the High Priests since they were not only the spiritual leaders of the Jewish community but also represented it, before the Persian Court and later before the Ptolemaic Court, socially and economically. Joseph had snatched this power from his uncle, Onias II, when he became tax-collector of Judea. But the control of the market apparently still remained securely in the hands of the High Priest.

Onias III did not wish to relinquish his power over the Jerusalem market. Simon, feeling that his power was inadequate to struggle against Onias turned to the Syrian Court for support. He informed them that Onias, the High Priest, had allied himself with Hyrcanus, the sworn enemy of the Syrian rule, and awaited an opportune moment to side openly with the Ptolemies. To substantiate his contention, he further informed the Syrian Court that Onias had hidden a lot of money in the Temple which did not come from sacrifices.⁶⁴

Seleucus sent the general, Heliodorus, to investigate the matter. When Heliodorus came to Jerusalem he was heartily welcomed by the High Priest, but when he wished to enter the Temple to confiscate the treasury, he was refused admission. Onias informed him that the monies in the treasury were deposited by orphans and widows; he admitted, however, that part of the monies belonged to Hyrcanus, the son of Tobiah,⁶⁵ and defended him, saying that Hyrcanus had been falsely accused by his enemy, Simon. Heliodorus, nevertheless, entered the Temple.⁶⁶ Whether he confiscated the monies in the Temple treasury is a matter of speculation. The second Book of Maccabees has a legend that Heliodorus fainted in the Temple and was carried

⁶³ II Macc. III, 4. "Fell out with the High Priest over the management of the city market."

⁶⁴ Ibid. 5-13. See Montgomery, *op. cit.* pp. 444-45.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 11, The grandson of Tobiah. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine II*, suggested that the Hebrew name of Hyrcanus was Tobiah.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 14-24.

out by the priests unconscious.⁶⁷ One thing, however, is certain, namely, Simon for the time being did not attain his ambitions, and Onias evidently smoothed the matter with Heliodorus over.

Simon, true son of his father Joseph, would not so easily give up his ambition. He took a further step by accusing the High Priest himself of conspiracy against the government.⁶⁸ This accusation aroused great disension among the rank and file of the inhabitants; there was so great a threat of a civil war that Appollonius, the governor of Coelo-Syria, stood ready to intervene and quell the rebellion. Onias, to clear himself of the accusation brought against him by Simon, went to see the King, and explained in person that his action in preventing Heliodorus from entering the Temple was in accord with the privilege given to the Jews by Antiochus III, that no foreigners be allowed to enter the Temple. The refusal to admit Heliodorus to the Temple was not due, therefore, to Jewish disloyalty to the Syrian government. He assured the King, moreover, that he had no designs to join the Ptolemaic party. The responsibility for the disorders in Jerusalem rested entirely upon the shoulders of Simon.⁶⁹

The author of the second Book of Maccabees speaks about the visit of Onias to the Syrian King as follows: "Not that he went about to accuse his fellow-citizens, but simply with the view to be good to all people; both public and private; for he said that, unless the king intervened and interested himself, it was impossible for the state to be at peace, nor would Simon abandon his insensate attempt."⁷⁰

This statement as well as the entire two books of the Maccabees have come down to us from men who were strong adherents of the Hasmonean party, and were deeply prejudiced against any other party, particularly the Hellenistic which they painted in darkest colors. Upon examination of this statement, however, and the two books of the Maccabees, I believe that we may justifiably assume that Onias went to see the King for the purpose of winning him over to his side and of removing his cousin

⁶⁷ Ibid. 29.

⁶⁸ Ibid. IV. 1-2.

⁶⁹ Comp. also Tscherikower, *Op. Cit.*

⁷⁰ II, Macc. IV, 6.

Simon from his post in the Temple. Onias' mission was not successful for, by the time he reached Antioch, King Seleucus had been assassinated by Heliodorus and the King's brother, Antiochus IV, who was a hostage in Rome, became the Syrian King.

Simon and his brothers, the sons of Joseph, saw the opportunity to remove Onias and put in his place his brother Joshua (Joshua was Onias' brother). Joshua's name in Greek was Jason, and, while his brother Onias was away in Syria, he was probably filling the position of High Priest in Jerusalem.

The fundamental conflict between Onias, the High Priest, and the sons of Joseph did not revolve merely about the question as to who should be the High Priest, and who should control the city market. That conflict was of far wider scope. It had its roots in the perilous choices the Jewish community had to make. What policy should the Jews pursue? Onias was eager to perpetuate Jewish life along the lines and in accordance with the principles laid down by Ezra and Nehemiah, and the development since those days. Moreover, he was anxious that Jewish life be centered about the Temple, for he was zealous against assimilation and foreign cultural influence.

Simon, on the other hand, and his brothers, the sons of Joseph, had lost their attachment to Judaism, although they were priests and descendants of Simon I. As tax-collectors they were in constant touch with foreign influences found at the Ptolemaen and the Seleucid Court. The influence of Hellenization was felt in all the aspects of their lives. The language they spoke was probably Greek. They bore Greek names; and their whole manner of living was Grecian. They mingled in Greek society at home and abroad, especially during their frequent visits to the Egyptian and Syrian Courts. There they saw the cream of Greek society engaged in athletics which were a source of national pride to the Greeks. The sons of Joseph were most anxious to introduce such games into their own country. And the reason for this is not far to seek.

The Tobias family were the leaders of the new aristocracy of wealth. They had converted Jerusalem from an obscure, insig-

nificant town into a prominent city of world commerce.⁷¹ But they were handicapped in their commercial enterprises because Jerusalem did not have the privilege of its own coinage, whereas cities like Tyre on the Mediterranean coast had their own coinage systems. For the economic amelioration of their welfare and that of their people, the Tobias family were ready to relinquish their Judaism which had developed in the last few centuries and which, at most, did not mean much to them. Their economic efforts could prove fruitful only when Jerusalem had the privileges of a Hellenistic city, the most important of which was the coinage of its own money. With this ultimate purpose in mind, the Tobias family was anxious to establish gymnasiums in Jerusalem so that the Jews, engaging in athletics similar to those of other cities, might achieve for Jerusalem the status of a Hellenistic city.⁷²

Aware that they could not achieve their goal as long as Onias III was the High Priest, the Tobias family conspired to remove him from his office, and to entrust the high priesthood to Joshua-Jason who was more sympathetic to their Hellenistic policy.

Jason, knowing full well that the Jewish people would not sanction this action, since his brother was still alive (even if Onias were to die, his office would pass on to his children and not to a brother), resorted to bribery. He gave King Antiochus 360 talents of silver and promised to increase this by 80 talents later.⁷³ In addition, he consented to pay another 150 talents of

⁷¹ "to set up a gymnasium and ephebeum" *ibid.*, 9. See Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* II, XXIII. The gymnasium with the body of Epheboi attached to it was an essential feature. From the letter of Claudius we can also deduce that the person who could not participate in the gymnasium is not a citizen. See H. Bell, *Jews and Greeks in Egypt*; See Tscherikower; Comp. also Appendix B.

⁷² II Macc. IV, 13. "Thanks to the surpassing impiety of that godless Jason—no high priest he."

⁷³ According to Josephus, Ant. XII, 5, 1, Menelaus was the one who besought the King Antiochus to build a gymnasium and to change the name of Jerusalem to Antioch. The IV Macc. give the same account as II Macc. that Jason was the man who approached King Antiochus to build the gymnasium. It is possible that the source which Josephus used was the correct one and that Menelaus and not Jason requested the King to grant the gymnasium, but as the author of II Macc. was very much opposed to Jason, as he holds Jason responsible for the Hellenization of Jerusalem he may blame him for the actions which were really committed by Menelaus.

silver for the privilege of setting up a gymnasium in Jerusalem, and to register the inhabitants of the city as Antiochenes i. e.,⁷⁴ the inhabitants of Jerusalem would cease to belong any more to the Jewish *ἔθνος*, nation,^{74a} but would become instead citizens of the Jewish race of the great empire of Antiochus.

When Jason became the High Priest in the year 175–174, a gymnasium was built in Jerusalem, and the Jewish youth, and even priests, participated in the athletics. The Holy City became Hellenized. The Greek head, Petasus (the mask of Hermes), was seen in the streets on the heads of all the Jewish youth.⁷⁵ They together with the priests exposed their bodies during athletic activity. In order to avoid recognition as Jews, they hid the fact of circumcision by drawing forward the prepuce so that they resembled the Hellenes.⁷⁶

On the surface, peaceful conditions prevailed in Jerusalem and throughout Coelo-Syria. In the year 173, however, Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus, who had been given in marriage to Ptolemy V as a security for peace between the two houses, died. The anti-Seleucidian party at the Alexandrian Court gained the upper hand and started a strong agitation to re-annex Coelo-Syria to Egypt. Apollonius, who represented Antiochus IV at the inauguration of Ptolemy VI, reported to the King that the policy of Alexandria was a menace to the peace of Coelo-Syria. Antiochus determined to investigate matters at first hand. He advanced with his army as far as Jappa. He convinced himself that the entire country was tranquil, and that there was no menace to his realm. At this time he visited Jerusalem and was received by the High Priest Jason with great acclaim. The Hellenized Jews of the city marched about the streets with blazing torches in their hands.⁷⁷

The Tobias family, who had succeeded in removing Onias from the high priesthood because he was an obstacle in their

⁷⁴ II, Macc. IV, 9, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροδολύμοις Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράφαι. Comp. Jos. Ant. XII, 5, 1.

^{74a} The distinction in the use of *γένος* and *ἔθνος* by Josephus will be dealt with at length elsewhere.

⁷⁵ II, Macc. IV, 12.

⁷⁶ Ibid. Ant. XII, 5, 1.

⁷⁷ See II, Macc. IV, 21–22.

plan for the Hellenization of the Jews, had put his brother Jason in his place. But they were not altogether satisfied with their choice; Jason proved to be still too conservative for their goal of Hellenization. They now thought that it would be more advantageous to get the high priesthood for one of their own family. Having already succeeded in setting up Jason as High Priest in the place of his brother Onias—an action that violated Jewish custom; for this office was always inherited—they felt confident that they could seize the high priesthood from Jason and give it to one of their own family, who were priests and of the family of Simon I.^{77a}

The opportunity which the family of Tobias sought came to their hand when Jason the High Priest sent one of the sons of Tobias, Menelaus (in Hebrew Onias), the brother of Simon, to the King to convey some money to him, and to remind him of some matters which needed attention. Menelaus, who was as shrewd as his father Joseph, seized the opportunity to procure the high priesthood for himself by offering the King 300 talents of silver in excess of the amount advanced by Jason. He further told the King that he would Hellenize Jerusalem more effectively and completely than Jason had done. Thus, Menelaus obtained the high priesthood from the King. Jason, however, did not yield to Menelaus and a fight between them was precipitated. As most of the people were on the side of Jason, Menelaus was compelled to leave the city,^{77b} and went to the King and complained against Jason and the Jews. Menelaus soon returned to Jerusalem with a military force given him by the King. Jason then had to flee from Jerusalem to Trans-Jordania.⁷⁸

^{77a} See Appendix C.

^{77b} According to B. J., Onias expelled the sons of Tobiah from Jerusalem, while according to Antiquities, XII, 5, Jason expelled Menelaus and the sons of Tobiah from Jerusalem. It is possible that Josephus in B. J. used the name Onias instead of Jason in error, or we may assume that the account given in B. J. refers to the early conflict between Onias and the sons of Tobias, while in Antiquities he tells the story of the conflict between Jason and Menelaus which took place in the year 171. Josephus further tells us that the sons of Tobias "took the part of Menelaus." Here Josephus refers to the entire family of Tobias who were for Menelaus against Onias, the son of Simon.

⁷⁸ II Macc. IV, 26.

Thus, Menelaus reached the office of High Priest through the military force given him by King Antiochus. But he could not raise the sum of money he had promised the King, and he went to Antioch to plead for an extension of time. He had left his brother Lysimachus to act as High Priest in his absence. Lysimachus, in order to obtain the money which his brother had promised the King, took the golden vessels from the Temple, and sold them. The proceeds of this sale went towards the payment of his brother's pledge. This sacrilegious act caused great indignation against Lysimachus among the Jewish population. In the struggle between the Jews and Lysimachus which followed the latter was killed. Menelaus' position, too, was endangered. Three men were sent by the Jewish Gerusia (the Senate) to the King to present charges against Menelaus.^{78a} But, again, Menelaus was able to maintain his position as High Priest, and the three delegates from Jerusalem were put to death. Menelaus, whose position for a time had been shaky, now received full authority from the King and his Hellenization policy became so intensive that anyone who followed Judasim was suppressed.

V

THE TEMPLE OF ONIAS

A heated discussion rages about the question of the building of the Temple in Egypt. Was it Onias III or Onias IV who built it? In answering this question we find our main sources—the second Book of Maccabees and Josephus—presenting us with many difficulties. According to the second Book of Maccabees, the High Priest Onias III was assassinated during his stay in Antioch. Josephus, in his "*Bellum Judaicum*" I, 1,⁷⁹ tells us that it was Onias III who went to Egypt and, received permission from Ptolemy V to build there a Temple, in his "Antiquities" XII, 9, 7,⁸⁰ however, he records that Onias IV was the builder of the Temple. Josephus further tells us that Onias IV went to Egypt

^{78a} Ibid., 43–50.

⁷⁹ Also in B. J. VII, 10, 2–3.

⁸⁰ So in Ant. XX, 10, 1; Also Ibid. XIII, 3, 1–2.

after the death of Menelaus when the high priesthood, instead of going to him, was given to Alchimus. On this basis, therefore, in addition to the testimony of the second Book of Maccabees, many scholars have proposed the theory that, Onias III was treacherously assassinated in Antioch, while the Temple in Egypt was built by Onias IV.⁸¹

Despite this reasoning, however, I believe that the narrative as recorded in "Bellum Judaicum" I, 7, attributing the building of the Temple to Onias III, supplies us with the correct historical data. The Temple was not built by Onias IV (164-163 B.C.E.) but by Onias III in the year 169-168. And the reasons for this assumption can be found in the historical occurrences of the times.

The year 168-167 was the most suitable period for building a Temple, for in that very year the Temple in Jerusalem was defiled by Antiochus. At this time great antagonism existed between the Syrians and the Egyptians. The High Priest Onias III had been removed from his office because he was suspected of favoring the Ptolemaic dynasty. The Ptolemaic Court, for the sake of political advantage, gave permission to Onias III, the representative of the Jews, to build in Egypt a Temple similar to the one which was in Jerusalem but which had been defiled by the Syrians. Only when the Jews in Palestine could not worship in the Temple at Jerusalem, was a Temple in Egypt at all possible.

The political policy on the part of the Ptolemies implied in their permission to build the Temple in Egypt could not be applied to Onias IV who went to Egypt in the year 164-163. At that time the Syrians and the Egyptians were no longer at war with each other, and Egypt was free of fear of further Syrian invasions. Moreover, the Jews in Palestine, after the victories of the Maccabees, received religious freedom from Antiochus V. The Temple had been cleansed and rededicated. It seems most unlikely at that time for a priest, even if he had not been appointed to the high priesthood, for that reason alone to apply to Ptolemy

⁸¹ Tschirikower, *op. cit.* 283-4. See Krauss, *Synagogue Altertimer*, 82.

for permission to build a Temple in Egypt.^{81a} It was in the time of Onias III that conditions made it possible and necessary for a High Priest to seek such permission.

The story of the assassination of Onias III, as recorded in the second Book of Maccabees,⁸² may be explained on the basis of a false rumour prevalent at the time. The author of second Maccabees used this rumour as a fact. The validity of this rumour was increased because it was commonly known that the whole delegation, sent to Antiochus from Jerusalem to complain against Menelaus, had been killed. What happened to a whole delegation, could reasonably happen to an individual, even though the individual be a High Priest. We may even assume that the author of Second Maccabees knew quite well that Onias had not been killed, but had gone to Egypt with the idea of building a Temple. But, since the purpose of the author was to glorify Onias, and to place the entire blame for the calamity which befell the Jews in the defilement of their Temple on Jason, Menelaus, and their adherents, it was not to his interest to reveal the fact that the High Priest Onias went to Egypt to build a Temple in competition with the one in Jerusalem. Such a story would not have added luster to the crown he was welding for his hero. Josephus in "Antiquities" says that the Temple was built by Onias IV. He does not mention, however, a word about the rumoured untoward death of Onias III, apparently knowing nothing of the assassination in Antioch.

Why was Heliopolis, and not Alexandria, chosen as the site of the Egyptian Temple? In spite of the fact that Alexandria contained the largest settlement of Jews, Onias III chose Heliopolis because a Jewish tradition associated that city with the settlement of Jacob and his sons on their arrival in Egypt.^{82a} Heliopolis was traditionally connected with Jacob and Moses, and was deemed, therefore, the most appropriate place for a

^{81a} According to Josephus in *Antiquities*, XIII, 3, 1, Onias IV went to Egypt to build a Temple in order to make a name for himself. This must be disregarded as it is probably based upon a source hostile to the Onias family.

⁸² II Macc. IV, 30-35.

^{82a} See Ant. II, 7, 6.

Temple site. Though Alexandria contained the bulk of the Jews, tradition drew the halo of sentiment around Heliopolis.

To remove the rivalry of the Temple in Egypt with the Temple in Jerusalem, the leaders of the Jews decreed that all the land of the Gentiles^{82b} (i. e. land outside of Palestine) should be considered to be in a state of levitical uncleanness. With this decree they accomplished their aim, since Egypt was a country levitically unclean, and thus removed any possible competition that might arise from the Temple in Heliopolis.⁸³

VI

THE DESECRATION OF THE TEMPLE

The struggle between Syria and Egypt in the year 171 broke out anew. The anti-Syrian party in the Alexandrian Court, rising in influence, agitated an attack upon Coelo-Syria. Antiochus Epiphanes, learning that the Ptolemaean army was about to assault Coelo-Syria, thought he was justified in attacking first. In the year 171-170,⁸⁴ therefore, he marched with a large army to the Egyptian frontier. He stormed Pelusium, the main fortress, took it, and invaded Egypt. Later a peace treaty, advantageous to Antiochus, was concluded between Syria and Egypt. On his way back from Egypt, Antiochus invaded Jerusalem,^{84a} entered

^{82b} Tal. Thab. 15. Comp. S. Zeitlin, *Les dix-huit mesures*, R. E. J.

⁸³ See Tal. Men. 109b, Onias the son of Simon built the Temple, in Egypt. Josephus tells us (Ant. XIII, 3, 1-2) that when Onias IV approached King Ptolemy and asked permission to build the Temple, Ptolemy hesitated to give the required permission since the land of Egypt was considered levitically unclean. To this Onias replied that the prophet Isaiah had already foretold that there would be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God (Is. XIX, 19). There is no question in my mind that Ptolemy did not consider the question of levitical uncleanness. Josephus gives us a graphic account of the attitude of the Jews themselves. One faction apparently resented the building of the Temple since the land of Egypt was levitically impure, while the other favored the idea because it was foretold by Isaiah. Comp. also Tal. Men. 110.

⁸⁴ On the question as to how many times Antiochus invaded Egypt see S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit, is a source for Jewish chronology and history in the Hellenistic or Roman period*. Chap. 2, 4, Note 35.

^{84a} This took place in the year 143 A. S. (I Macc. 1.20-4) about the close of the summer 170. See also Clinton, *Fasti Helleniei*, III, 318-20.

the Temple, and confiscated the gold which he found there. According to the first Book of Maccabees many Jews were killed. The slaughter which Antiochus ordered apparently was due to the protests which the Jews raised against his entering the holy place, and confiscating the treasures of the sanctuary.

But the peace between Egypt and Syria did not last long. In 169-168 Antiochus, determined to annex Egypt, a second time set his armies on the march. He was victorious, but his dream of subduing Egypt under his rule was rudely crushed by Rome.

The Roman Senate, moved by the events in Egypt, sent an embassy to Antiochus, demanding that he should evacuate the country. The consul presented the following ultimatum to Antiochus:

"to decide on the spot, and not go out of that ring, until he had given an answer to the Senate whether he would have peace or war with Rome."⁸⁵

To this Antiochus replied that "He would obey the Senate." It was this event apparently that caused the rumour, which spread in Coelo-Syria, that Antiochus had died. When this rumour reached Palestine, Jason came with an army of about a thousand men, and attacked Jerusalem. Menelaus took refuge in the citadel. Suddenly, however, the rumour of the death of Antiochus was laid. Jason learned that Antiochus was not only alive, but was marching with his army from Egypt back to Syria. At this news Jason fled from Jerusalem, and took refuge with the Ammonites.⁸⁶

When Antiochus received word that Judea was in revolt against him, he marched against Jerusalem and stormed the city. He slaughtered a great number of Jews; he had their women and children to be sold into slavery. Antiochus Epiphanes who, according to Polybius, was called by some of his countrymen Epimanes (the madman),⁸⁷ realized that his endeavors to free

⁸⁵ Justin, XXXIV, 3.

⁸⁶ II Macc. V, 1-8 "Now about this time Antiochus made his second inroad into Egypt." Antiochus IV was in Egypt in the year 169-8 (145 A. S.) comp. Polyh., XXVIII, 17 and XXIX, 23-6, See Niese, *Geschichte*, III, 174, 230-1. S. Zeitlin, op. cit. p. 36.

⁸⁷ Polybius, XXVI, 1. Ἐπιμανῆ καὶ οὐκ Ἐπιφανῆ.

the Jews from their religious superstition and to bring them into the Hellenistic fold had been in vain. His efforts to make Jerusalem a Greek *polis* failed. He decided, since he felt he could not depend upon the Hellenistic party in Judea, to destroy the Jews and their Judaism by force. He abolished the daily sacrifices, defiled the Temple, and decreed that swine and other unclean animals be brought on the altar of the Temple as sacrifices.

In the year 168, in the month of Kislev,⁸⁸ a Greek altar, the "Abomination of Desolation," was erected upon the old altar in the Temple court, and swine were sacrificed upon it. The sanctuary itself was dedicated to Zeus Olympius. He prohibited the Jews from keeping their Sabbath. To circumcize their children was punishable with death. The Books of the Law were burned. The city itself was put to flames; the walls of Jerusalem were destroyed; and people of foreign countries were settled in Jerusalem. A new fortress was built on Mount Zion, and a body of royal troops, the "Macedonians," was established in the city to dominate it.⁸⁹ By these means he thought he would destroy Judaism and make Judea a colony of Syria. Judea was very important to Antiochus politically. Since his father lost Asia Minor to the Romans, the Mediterranean Coast of Coelo-Syria became of paramount importance to the Syrian government. Antiochus, therefore, strove desperately to retain Coelo-Syria.

Meanwhile, the Hellenistic party in Jerusalem, led by Menelaus the High Priest most likely was not very much satisfied with this policy of Antiochus. They thought that they would be able to Hellenize the Jews, make Jerusalem a Greek *polis*, and thus themselves become citizens of the great Syrian Empire—Antio-

⁸⁸ I Macc. I, 20-64; II Macc. V, VI, On the chronology used in I Macc. and II Macc. see S. Zeitlin op. cit. Chapters 2-4.

⁸⁹ I Macc. *ibid.* II Macc. *ibid.* It is interesting to note that among the decrees which Antiochus issued against the Jews in his persecutions the decree to destroy the synagogues is not mentioned at all. The reason thereof is that the institution of the synagogue as a house of worship had not as yet been established among the Jews. The Jews offered prayers in the Temple, in the street, or at any place at all, but there was no particular institution for that purpose, and therefore the synagogue could not have been mentioned in the decrees of Antiochus. Comp. S. Z. The Origin of the Synagogue, Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research, 1930.

chenes of the city of Jerusalem. Now their plans had been frustrated. The city and country became a colony of Syria, and Menelaus merely a chief *gendarme* for Antiochus to help him destroy the city and slaughter the Jews. Due to these political developments, Menelaus and his adherents were compelled first to execute the orders of Antiochus, and then to become associates in the Syrian scheme of destroying Judaism.⁹⁰

The Jews did not take the commands of Antiochus without a struggle. They defied his orders by observing the Sabbath, and circumcising their children. Those who were caught observing Jewish laws were tortured and slain. Out of these repressive measures a new spirit of revolt was born, a violent reaction against the forcible Hellenization of the Jews. A new group came into existence called the Hassidim, the pious. This group in the face of great danger observed the Jewish law. They circumcised their children in spite of the fact that the infants were often murdered at the breast of their mothers. The author of the second Book of Maccabees narrates how a group of Jews hid themselves in a cave in order to observe the Sabbath. When the agents of Antiochus discovered them, they threatened to burn them in the cave unless they profaned the Sabbath. The Jews thereupon refused, and were burned alive.⁹¹ The Hassidim met the edicts of Antiochus with the silent scorn of non-resistance.

⁹⁰ See also Tschirekower op. cit.

⁹¹ II Macc. VI, The bodies of the Hassidim who were slain for defying the decrees of Antiochus were not allowed to be buried. "The Jews whom he (Antiochus) had determined to throw out with their children to the beasts, for the birds to devour, as unworthy even to be buried." Ibid. IX, 15. The words of the Psalmist where he complains that (LXXIX, 2-3) נָהָנוּ אֶת גִּבּוֹלָהּ עֲבָדֶיךָ מֵאֵכָל לַעֲוֹן הַשָּׁמַיִם בָּשָׂר חֲסִידֶיךָ לַחַיֹּתוֹ אֶרֶץ שָׁפְכוּ דָמָם כְּמִים סְבִיבוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַיִם וְאֵין קוֹבֵר "The bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy Hassidim (saints) unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem and there was none to bury them." These words refer most likely to the Hassidim who were killed at the time of the persecutions of Antiochus, and their bodies were left unburied. In the book of Tobit the author laid more stress on the duty of every Jew to bury the dead even at the risk of his own life as God would at the end reward him for it. The Book of Tobit was written at this period. Comp. Schürer, *Gesch. III. S. Zeitlin, An Historical Study of the Canonization of Hebrew Scriptures*, 1933.

For a while it seemed as if Antiochus had triumphed over the Jews, and Judaism had been defeated by Hellenism. The situation was very dark, indeed. On the one hand, the Hellenistic party became the officials of Antiochus and executed ruthlessly his orders against any Jews who remained loyal to their religion; on the other hand, the Hassidim were a group of individualists who were concerned only with the salvation of their souls, their one objective was not to transgress the commandments of God. They had no interest in the people as a whole, nor did they think it worth while to resist the Hellenes by force of arms in order to bring about the victory of the Jews over the Syrians, and of Judaism over Hellenism. They were the first martyrs in history.⁹²

VII

THE HASMONEANS

The policy of passive resistance which the Hassidim maintained ultimately developed into active resistance. A priest named Mattathias, of the family of the Hasmoneans, dwelt in the little town of Modin.⁹³ He was a Jerusalemite.⁹⁴ It is he who is accorded the honor of instigating the rebellion against Antiochus. He sought not only to defy the King's decrees but actually to use force against the officials of Antiochus. He held that, if the Jews were compelled to wield arms on the Sabbath, they should do so, for he believed that it is better to break one Sabbath in order to be able to make it possible to observe all the Sabbaths in the future; since man is not created for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath for man.⁹⁵ After the death of Mattathias, his sons, under the leadership of their brother Judas who was called Maccabeus,⁹⁶ continued with even greater force the struggle for the liberation of the Jewish religion from the Syrian oppressors.

⁹² See Klausner, היסטוריה ישראלית ב.

⁹³ I Macc. 2, 1-2. 'The son of Asmoneus.'

⁹⁴ Ant. XII, 6, 1. 'Ἰεροσολυμίτης. I Macc. ibid. ἀπὸ 'Ιεροναλῆμ.

⁹⁵ See Derenbourg, Essai, חשמונאיי בניו ומתחיהו כהן גדול, לכם שבת מסורה. ואי אתם מסורים לשבת. Mekilta 81.

⁹⁶ A. Bevan, in a recent article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* has suggested that the word Maccabaeus derives from the Hebrew word מקביהו the name of the Lord.

Judas, lacking sufficient forces to fight the Syrians openly, at the beginning had to confine himself to guerrilla warfare. He fought from ambush. His struggle was a very difficult one, for the war was fought on two fronts: against the outer enemy, the Syrians, and against the enemy within, those Jews who had joined with the Syrians to help Antiochus to destroy Judaism. Judas' method was to attack a village suddenly, especially when the Syrians had erected altars to Zeus. He was particularly merciless against the Jewish hirelings of Antiochus.⁹⁷ By his courageous acts Judas inspired the Jews who had long since given up hope of being able to resist Antiochus. A considerable army gathered about him, recruited mostly from the people who lived in villages, the *Am-haarez*, and who were quite untouched by Hellenistic influences.

Judas now felt that he was able to match himself against the Syrian army in Judea, and he openly attacked the general of Antiochus, and won a decisive victory over him.⁹⁸ At this Antiochus determined to lead himself an army against the rebellious Jews. He feared the consequences of a successful revolt which might endanger the entire Coelo-Syria and the Mediterranean coast. At this time, however, word reached him that a rebellion had broken out in Persia. He therefore, changed his plans and marched his army there. He crossed the Euphrates in the year 167-166 on his way to Persia, entrusting a large army to Lysias with which to subdue the Jews.⁹⁹

Lysias himself, however, did not lead a force against the Jews. He appointed Ptolemy, Gorgias, and Nicanor as his generals. The campaign against rebellious Judea began. Judas succeeded in repulsing the Syrian army.¹⁰⁰ Lysias was now compelled to take over the command of the Syrian forces and in the year 166-165 he marched on Judea to crush the revolt. Lysias thought that he would be able to crush the Jewish resistance where the

⁹⁷ I Macc. III, 1-9; II Macc. VIII.

⁹⁸ According to I Macc. Judas had his first victory over Apollonius and Seron, while according to II Macc. Judas' first victory was over Nicanor, and Apollonius and Seron are not mentioned at all.

⁹⁹ I Macc. 3, 27-37.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 38-60, 4, 1-25.

others, among them Antiochus, had failed. It was his plan to populate Jerusalem with Greeks.

According to the Books of the Maccabees, Judas is supposed to have won a great victory over Lysias, and, after the victory, to have entered Jerusalem and rededicated the Temple.¹⁰¹ We have reason to believe that Judas did not gain that victory over Lysias. Internal developments in Syria compelled Lysias to sue for peace,¹⁰² for Antiochus had met his death in Persia in the early part of Autumn 165.¹⁰³ Before his death he appointed a certain Philip¹⁰⁴ to be regent, for his son was still a child. Lysias, upon receiving this news, thought that it was more to his interest to make peace with the Jews and to return to Antioch to meet Philip, his rival. That is the reason for the treaty which was concluded between Lysias and the Jews.

Lysias would not recognize Judas as the representative of the Jews. His letter of religious freedom was addressed to the Jewish people. This letter was signed the 24th of the month Deioscurus in the year 148.¹⁰⁵ The month Dioscurus is most likely the Syrian month which is called "Dius," corresponding to October–November. The Jews who did not know the reason for the sudden change in Lysias' policy ascribed it to a victory of Judas over Lysias. In the following month, the 25th of Apellaeus, that is, the 25th of Kislev, corresponding to the month of December, Judas and his army re-entered Jerusalem, and purified and rededicated the Temple to God.¹⁰⁶ The rededication took place exactly three years after the "Abomination of Desolation" was set up,¹⁰⁷ and three and one-half years¹⁰⁸ after the daily sacrifices had been abolished by Antiochus.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 36–60.

¹⁰² Comp. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus II*.

¹⁰³ Niese, *Kritik der Beiden Makkabaerbücher*, *Hermes*, 1900; Idem., *Geschichte III*, 218.

¹⁰⁴ I Macc. 6, 14–15. Ant. XII, 9, 2.

¹⁰⁵ II Macc. XI, 17–33. See Appendix D.

¹⁰⁶ In the year 165 B.E.C. According to Josephus, Ant. XII, the rededication of the Temple took place in the year 148 A. S. and in the 154th Olympiad. Comp. S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁷ I Macc. IV. Ant. XII, 7, 6.

¹⁰⁸ B. J. I, 4. See also S. Zeitlin op. cit. p. 41, n. 81

Upon his return to Syria, Lysias met Philip and in the battle which took place Philip was killed.¹⁰⁹ Antiochus V, called Eupator, later confirmed the privileges which Lysias had granted to the Jews. This he did in his official communication and in the one sent to the Jewish Gerusia. In these communications the King again ignores Judas, for the communications are addressed to the Gerusia. The letter to the Gerusia was written on the 15th day of Xanthicus (March-April) in the year 164.¹¹⁰

After the Temple had been rededicated in Jerusalem, Judas did not give up his attempts to liberate the city from the Syrians and their Jewish officials. He tried to destroy the citadel in the year 164. Menelaus and the Syrians went to Antiochus to complain against Judas's party which was steadily gaining strength in Judea.¹¹¹ Their appeal to the government bore fruit, for Lysias with the child-king led an expedition against Judas. Judas Maccabeus intended to give battle to the Syrians, but when he saw that the Syrian forces were too strong for him, he decided to retire within Jerusalem. Lysias marched against the city of Jerusalem and encamped facing Mt. Zion. The army of Judas suffered severely from scarcity of food, the year 164-163 being a sabbatical year.¹¹² The Jews could offer only weak resistance to Lysias, and it seemed as if all the success of Judas during the last few years was about to come to nought in the surrender of the fortress of Zion to their Syrian foes. An unhappy end to the dreams of Judas!

But, once again political complications in Syria saved the situation for the Jews. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, the uncle of Antiochus V, who had been a hostage in Rome, escaped and returned to Antioch to claim the crown for himself. When Lysias learned of this, he decided that once more it would be more advantageous to himself to make immediate peace with Judas, so that he might have a free hand to deal with the pretender to the Syrian throne. To give assurance of his good-will to Judas

¹⁰⁹ Ant. XII, 9, 7.

¹¹⁰ II Macc. XI. See Appendix D.

¹¹¹ I Macc. VI, 18-27,—II Macc. XIII, 1-8.

¹¹² I Macc. VI, 48-54.

and his party, he took Menelaus along with him, and slew him.¹¹³ Meanwhile, Demetrius succeeded in ascending the throne; subsequently Antiochus and Lysias were put to death.¹¹⁴ The peace treaty strengthened the hand of Judas and his coterie, and they began cleaning Jerusalem of its Hellenistic influences. The Hellenistic group, under the leadership of Alchimus, went to Demetrius I, the new King, and complained that the Hellenistic party, which was sympathetic to Syria, was being persecuted. Demetrius appointed Alchimus to be High Priest and gave him military aid.¹¹⁵

The Hassidim, who had helped Judas in his revolt against the Syrians, now, with the death of Menelaus and the assurance of religious freedom to the Jews by Lysias and Antiochus, broke away from Maccabees. They had joined Judas because Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, had forced the Jews to transgress the Jewish law, and had placed on the altar of the Temple the "Abomination of Desolation." Through the aid of Judas religious freedom had been gained, the Temple cleansed and rededicated, Menelaus was no more. The Hassidim were not vitally concerned with the question of the political independence of the Jewish people. Hence, their interest in political affairs waned.

When Alchimus now the High Priest by the grace of Demetrius, returned to Jerusalem, he was welcomed by the Hassidim. According to the first book of Maccabees the Hassidim said that he was a priest of the seed of Aaron and would not do any wrong. Alchimus spoke to them and promised them that none of them would be harmed. The Hassidim had reason to believe that he would not follow the policy of his predecessor, Menelaus. But Alchimus was an appointee of the Syrian king. Judas strongly opposed this new High Priest. In order to strengthen his position in Jerusalem against Judas, Alchimus aimed to strengthen his ties with the Hellenistic party rather than to flirt with the

¹¹³ II Macc. XIII, 1-8. According to Ant. XII, 9. Alchimus was appointed to be High Priest.

¹¹⁴ I Macc. VII, 1-4. Ant. XII, 10, 1. See S. Zeitlin, *Meg. Taanit*, אנה נטיל אנשיכוס מן ירושלים. On the 28th of Shebat, 163 B. C. E. (150 A. S.) Antiochus withdrew from Jerusalem.

¹¹⁵ I Macc. VII, 1-20. See also II Mac. XIV. Ant. XII, 9.

Hassidim, since he knew that he could not count on them as allies in his struggle against Judas. Thereupon, in order to reveal his attachment to the Hellenistic party and his opposition to the Hassidim, he killed sixty leaders of the latter.¹¹⁶

Judas besides being a capable general, who had won many victories over the Syrian enemy through his strategies, was a man of vision and political acumen. He realized that the Syrian government was disintegrating and he knew that, in his struggle against the Syrians, he would find friendly sympathy in Rome. Rome, from the days of the Third Punic War, had cast her eyes greedily on the Phoenician coast. She took every opportunity to inject herself in the turmoil of the near East. Thus, she had tried to curb the forces of Antiochus III in Asia Minor. When Antiochus IV was already in possession of Egypt, Rome stepped in and compelled him to evacuate the country. And now, when Demetrius, the opponent of Antiochus V, fled from Rome,¹¹⁷ the Roman Senate winked at his escape, hoping that through him the Seleucide kingdom would be weakened. Judas, aware of all this, felt that here lay a great possibility for the Jews to throw off the yoke of the Syrians entirely, and to create again, as in the days before the Temple was destroyed by the Babylonians, an independent Jewish state. He did not succeed in realizing his ambition, but his brother Simon completed the work which Judas began.

In the year 141 the Jewish People declared their independence from the Syrian yoke.¹¹⁸ A great Synagogue was convened, and a Jewish Commonwealth was declared. Simon was appointed head of the Jewish Commonwealth; he was also made high priest, which office was declared hereditary¹¹⁹ for the family of Simon the Hasmonean.

This revolution which won political independence for the Jews wrought a profound effect upon their whole inner life. Both in the social and in the religious life was this effect felt.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Comp. Justin, XXXIV, 3. Pol. XXXI, 11.

¹¹⁸ I Macc. XIV, 27 "On the eighteenth day of Elul, in the hundred and seventy second year".

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 41-47.

The aristocratic Gerusia, which most likely had consisted of priests and had been under the leadership of the High Priest, disappeared. Josephus, in his works, does not mention the institution of the Gerusia after the Hasmonean revolt. Apparently a more democratic government came into existence—the Commonwealth. A graphic picture of the life of the Jews before the Hasmonean period is given us by Ben Sira. He tells us that during his time, the masses, artisans, farmers, who do manual labor and without whom a city cannot exist, nevertheless were excluded from the assemblies. "On the seat of the judge they do not sit, and law and judgment they understand not."¹²⁰

Such a situation could exist before the revolt, but the success of the revolution was made possible only by the masses who had whole-heartedly supported Judas in his struggle. It was their aid that enabled him to resist the Syrians, and henceforth they could not be excluded from the government. At the great Synagogue which proclaimed Jewish independence and at which Simon was chosen head of the Commonwealth, there were present not only priests and elders of the nation, but also the common people.¹²¹

The farmers, *Ame haarez* (*Demoi*), before the Maccabean period, consisted the bulk of the nation. The inhabitants of the cities were insignificant in numbers, excepting those who lived in Jerusalem. The Jewish population was divided into two major classes, namely, the farmers who tilled the land, and the priests and Levites who were engaged in the service of the Temple. The latter received their remuneration in produce, supplied by the farmers.

In the Hellenistic period and particularly after the successful revolt of the Maccabees the situation changed. Cities were added to Judea on the coast either through conquest or penetration. Trade and commerce began to flourish. The original population rapidly expanded and developed. The *Am haarez* no longer made up the bulk of the people. Under the Biblical law, the *Am haarez*, and they alone, had to support the priests and the

¹²⁰ Ben Sira, XXXVIII, 31-34.

¹²¹ I Macc. XIV. 27-28. כנסת הגדולה.

Levites, since the Terumah and Maasrot were given by them. The Am haarez, now began to resent the fact that they alone carried the burden of supporting the priests and the Levites. Many of them refused, therefore, to give Maasrot. This compelled John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, to decree "demoi," that is, that anyone who purchases produce from the farmer must give the tithe to the Levites.¹²²

To this period also we can trace the first clash between the Ame haarez and the Haberim. The Haberim were the members who participated in the city government, called "*Boule*," or Senate. This antagonism was not only economic, but social as well. The Am haarez strove for social equality with the Haberim on the ground that they had taken a very prominent part in the war for independence. To the struggle between these two elements in the population we may trace the origins of the two factions which came into existence in the last century before the destruction of the Jewish State—the Fourth Philosophy and the Apocalypstists.

In the field of religion a revolutionary change also ensued. Up to the Hasmonean period there is not recorded any Halakah in the name of any individual teacher. Beginning with this period, however, we notice Halakot recorded by individual scribes (Soferim) scholars. The first two men in whose names Halakot are recorded were Jose b. Johanan and Jose b. Joezer; they lived during the Hasmonean period.

And finally, at the head of the Jewish state up to the Maccabean revolt was a Pontiff, a High Priest, in whom were vested both religious and political powers. He and his Gerusia interpreted the Jewish law. But, after the Maccabean revolt, when a Commonwealth was established which had no religious functions, a religious body was organized, probably with the name Sanhedrin, and Jose b. Joezer and Jose b. Johanan were the first two men to lead that institution.¹²³ This institution was soon

¹²² See S. Zeitlin, *The Am-haarez*, *J.Q.R.*, 1932, גור על הדמאי. See Appendix E.

¹²³ Idem. *The Semikah Controversy between the Zugoth*, *J.Q.R.*, 1927. Comp. Idem. *Studies in Tanaaitic Jurisprudence*, *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, 1919, p. 300, N. 4. See L. Ginzberg, מקומה של הלכה בחכמת ישראל, ירושלים. It is most likely that the Sanhedrin was instituted at the time of

divided into two factions, one liberal and one conservative. This division made itself felt throughout the entire development of the history of the Halakah.^{123a}

Judas Maccabaeus when he had established the courts to judge and punish the people who had transgressed the Jewish law, joined the Syrians and betrayed the Jewish cause. Jose b. Joezer and Jose b. Johanan were at the head of this institution.

^{123a} These two factions were called the Shammaites and Hillelites. The first was the conservative, the second the liberal faction. Although these factions were named after Shammai and Hillel, their ideas were in vogue before their time. These two schools began with Jose ben Joezer and Jose ben Johanan. an analogous case may be quoted from Roman history. At the time of Augustus Caesar there came into being two schools of opposing tendencies. The founders of these schools were two jurists Ateius Capito and Antistius Labeo. The first one was a strong supporter of imperial despotism and conservative ideas, while the other influenced by the old republicanism was of independent spirit and more inclined to break established rules, if such would meet life's demands. The schools, were, however, named after later jurists. The followers of the conservative school of Capito were usually called Sabiniani, after a pupil of Capito, those of the liberal school of Labeo were called Proculiani after Julius Proculus, a pupil not of Labeo himself, but of his disciple Nerva, the grandfather of Emperor Nerva. It is worth while to note that for a number of generations from the days of Augustus to those of Antonines, every jurist enrolled himself under one flag or another, and was known either as a Sabinian or a Proculian. See S. Zeitlin, "Les Principes des Controverses Halahiques entre les ecole de Schmmai et Hillel," R. E. J. 1932.

APPENDIX A

SANBALLAT THE SAMARITAN

The identity of "Sanballat" is difficult to establish because of confusion in the sources themselves; yet a careful scrutiny of the texts involved will, I believe, enable us to ascertain the historical truth.

Josephus, in XI, 8, 2, tells us that a certain Menasseh, the brother of Jaddua, the High Priest, married Sanballat's daughter. For this he was driven from the Temple in Jerusalem. Thereupon, Sanballat promised his son-in-law to approach Darius, the Persian King, for permission to build a Temple on Mt. Gerizim where he might officiate as High Priest.

Josephus continues the narrative and further tells us that, when Alexander besieged the city of Tyre, Sanballat came with an army to his aid. In exchange for this service he requested permission to build a Temple on Mt. Gerisim. He explained that he sought to provide a Temple for his son-in-law, Menasseh, who was a brother of Jaddua, the High Priest in Jerusalem.

According to Nehemiah XIII, 28, the man who married the daughter of Sanballat, was the son of Joiada [Judas] the High Priest.

There is undoubtedly confusion between the two sources. For, if Sanballat lived at the time of Darius II, he could not have lived at the time of Alexander. Furthermore, we learn from the Papyrus No. 30, in A. Cowley, *"Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.,"*—a letter which was sent by the Jews of Elephantine to the High Priest John—that these Jews also sent a letter to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria. The letter was sent in the seventeenth year of King Darius, in the year 408 B.C.E. Now, if Sanballat was governor of Samaria in 408, and had grown sons at that time, he must have been at least 40 or 45 years of age, and it is hardly possible that he could have lived until the time of Alexander. We must also rule out as impossible the hypothesis of the existence of two Sanballats, each governor of Samaria, and each having a daughter

who married a brother of the High Priest of Jerusalem. This would strain credulity to the breaking point.

The story as given by Josephus, I believe, is historically true. There was a Sanballat who lived in the time of Alexander; and there was a Sanballat who lived in the time of Darius. It is their relationship that has been confused. The Sanballat whose daughter married a High Priest lived at the time of Darius and, as was often done at the time, she named her son Sanballat after her father. It was this second Sanballat who was governor of Samaria in the time of Alexander. Evidently Josephus confused the two Sanballats and says that the daughter of the later Sanballat married into the family of the High Priest, while in truth it was the daughter of the earlier Sanballat as is told in Nehemiah.

According to Josephus, "Antiquities," XIII, 9, John Hyrcanus destroyed the Samaritan Temple which had been in existence for two hundred years. This destruction took place in the year 128-127. This brings us to the time of Alexander and confirms our contention that the Temple in Samaria was built at the time of Alexander 329-327 and was destroyed in 128-127. (See also Cowley op. cit. p. 108-110.)

A very interesting and stimulating paper on the subject of the priesthood of the post-exilic period was read by Dr. Julian Morganstern before the American Oriental Society, in 1933 in New York, called, "A Chapter in the History of the Post-Exilic High Priesthood."

APPENDIX B

THE JEWS IN ALEXANDRIA

The Jews in Alexandria possessed equal rights with the Greeks. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that the Ptolemies took Egypt by force, and ruled over a country which consisted mainly of Hellenized Syrians, Macedonians, and Jews. The two last races particularly had equal rights and were called Alexandrians.

The Jews had received special privileges. They were not to be compelled to worship the State religion. They were permitted to worship their own God, and to have their own houses of worship—Proseuche. This privilege was very important, as the

Hellenes did not as yet know the idea of separation of religion from the State; a citizen of a Hellenistic *polis* had to worship the gods of that State. The Ptolemies granted the privileges of asylum to the *Proseuche* on a par with the Temples of Egypt; in the gymnasium and in all other activities of the *polis* the Jews had equal rights.

The position of the Jews in Alexandria, it seems to me, was analogous to the position of the Jews of America, England and France to-day. They are citizens of their respective countries, but have their own religious and cultural institutions. Thus, when we speak of matters peculiar to Jews, we say the Jews of America; but in matters which do not refer particularly to Jews, they are referred to as Americans or Frenchmen. With this point of view in mind we can better understand the meaning of the letter of Claudius Caesar where he says (Antiquities XIX, 5, 2): "The Jews of Alexandria called Alexandrians." Ἀλεξανδρεῖς αἰῶνες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λεγομένους (comp. B. J. II, XVIII, 7, Ἀλεξανδρέων . . . Ἑλλήσιν . . . Ἰουδαίων, *ibid.* 9, τοιοῦτον μὲν τό κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν πάθος συννηχθῆ).

This expression precipitated much discussion among scholars. I believe that the meaning of the above sentence is quite clear. The Jews in Alexandria, although they were exempt from worshipping Alexandrian gods, were called Alexandrians; and Claudius commanded the authorities of Alexandria not to deprive the Jews of this privilege, but to permit them to live according to their own customs.

Apion, according to Josephus ("Contra Apion") wondered how the Jews could call themselves Alexandrians since they did not worship the gods of the Alexandrians. Josephus maintains that he was ignorant of the documents which were granted the Jews, first by the Ptolemies and then by Julius Caesar. The letter found among the papyri (see H. I. Bell, "Jews and Christians in Egypt," 1924, T. Reinach, *REJ*, 1924.) in which Claudius commands the Alexandrians not to deprive the Jews who had been living in Alexandria for a long time of the custom of worshipping their God, and that, further, the Jews should not send special delegations, as it would appear that these delegations are from two different cities, this letter is the basis

of much discussion. From the manner of expression in which Claudius' command is couched many scholars try to prove that the Jews were not called Alexandrians since they were referred to as the "Jews of Alexandria." This, however, does not prove that the Jews were not Alexandrian citizens, for Claudius was concerned in this letter with a peculiar Jewish problem, and therefore speaks of the Jews of Alexandria in the same manner as, in matters peculiarly Jewish, we would refer to the Jews of America. The fact that he did not permit the Jews to send a special delegation shows that they were regarded as full-fledged citizens of Alexandria.

In this letter Claudius continues to say that the Jews should not try to get into the athletic clubs and gymnasiums, but otherwise to get the benefits that they had in a foreign city. Moreover they were asked not to bring their fellow Jews into Egypt from Syria by way of the sea. Some scholars maintain that this shows clearly that the Jews were not citizens of Alexandria. It seems to me, however, that the last clause does not refer to the Jews who lived in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, and who were regarded as citizens in the same way as the Macedonians. This can refer only to the immigrants who came to Egypt much later. These Jews could obtain citizenship only by the acceptance of the State religion. And since they did not have the privileges given the Jews by the Ptolemies, neither did they have the right of joining the gymnasiums, as this was a sign of citizenship.

Since the days of Julius Caesar, when Egypt was added to Syria and became a Roman province, many Jews migrated to Egypt; it was against these Jews that Claudius instituted the above restrictions. Thus, there were two kinds of Jews in Alexandria, the so-called natives who enjoyed full citizenship, and the new-comers who, though they were part of the Jewish community, did not enjoy full citizenship.

The letter of Claudius Caesar on the Jewish question, Papyrus No. 1912, quoted by Bell, reads as follows:

"As to the question which of you were responsible for the riot and feud (or rather, if the truth must be told, the war) against the Jews, I was unwilling to commit myself to a decided

judgment, though your ambassadors, and particularly Dionysius, son of Theon, pleaded your cause with much zeal in confrontation (with their opponents), and I must reserve for myself an unyielding indignation against whoever caused this renewed outbreak; but I tell you plainly that if you do not desist from this baneful and obstinate mutual hostility I shall perforce be compelled to show what a benevolent prince can be when turned to just indignation. Wherefore I conjure ye just once again that, on the one side, the Alexandrines show themselves forbearing and kindly towards the Jews who for many years have dwelt in the same city, and offer no outrage to them in the exercise of their traditional worship, but permit them to observe their customs as in the time of Divus Augustus, which customs I also, after hearing both sides, have confirmed; and, on the other side, I bid the Jews not to busy themselves about anything beyond what they have held hitherto, and not henceforth as if you and they lived in two cities, to send two embassies—a thing such as never occurred before now—nor to strive in gymnasiarchic or cosmetic games, but to profit by what they possess, and enjoy in a city not their own abundance of all good things, and not to introduce or invite Jews who sail down to Alexandria from Syria or Egypt, thus compelling me to conceive the greater suspicion; otherwise I will by all means take vengeance on them as fomenting a general plague for the whole world. If, desisting on both sides from these proceedings, you are willing to live with mutual forbearance and kindness, I on my side will continue to display the time-honoured solicitude for the interests of the city, with which my family has a traditional friendship."

With the problem of the Jews of Alexandria and Syria and the development of anti-semitism I shall deal separately in connection with the history of the Jews in the Diaspora.

Comp. H. I, Bell, "*Jews and Christians in Egypt*," 1924; Max Radin, *Classical Philology*, 1925, 368-75. De Sanctis, *Rivista di Filologia classica*, 1924, 473-513; Wilcken, Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus, *Abh. Kon. S. G. d. W.* 1909, 783-839; Schürer, "*Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*," III; J. Juster, "*Les Juifs dan L'Empire Romain*;" Th. Reinach, *REJ*,

1924, 113-144; Laqueur, *Klio*, XX, p. 89; Fuchs, "*Die Juden Aegyptiens in Ptolemaischer und Römischer Zeit*," 1924; Stähelin, "*Der Antisemitismus des Altertums*" 1905 J. Klausner, היסטוריה ישראלית, and A. Tscherikower, חל אביב, היהודים והיונים.

APPENDIX C

THE SONS OF JOSEPH

Some scholars are of the opinion that Joseph, the son of Tobiah, was not of Jewish origin. This hypothesis must be discarded. Our main opposition to it is based on the Jewish attitude towards intermarriage at that time.

Tobiah, we know, was the son-in-law of the High Priest Simon I. It is unbelievable that the High Priest would give his daughter in marriage to a man who was not of Jewish origin. It is true that there was intermarriage between a certain Ammonite and the High Priestly family (Nehemiah 6); but Menasseh, who had married a non-Jewish wife, was expelled from the Temple (Josephus XI). After the reform of Nehemiah a strong reaction took place in Jerusalem against intermarriage and it is most unlikely that a daughter of the High Priest would be married to an Ammonite.

From contemporary literature we learn that the Jews stressed inter-family marriage. In the Book of Tobit (I, 9), we find that Tobit says: "I took a wife of the seed of our own family." Further we read that Raguel said to Tobias that he consented to give his daughter Sarah to him as a wife "because thou art our nearest kin." In Judith (VIII, 2) we learn that "her husband was Manasses of her tribe and her family." From this we can readily see that the Jews recognized the importance of inter-family marriage. It would therefore be impossible to believe that the High Priest would give his daughter to an Ammonite.

An additional reason would strengthen this belief. The inter-family marriage would certainly be more observed among the priests since a daughter marrying out of the priestly family would not be able to eat *Terumah*, as *Terumah* can only be taken by the priestly family. Her marrying out of the family would

cause great inconvenience as she would not be able to eat at her father's table. In the course of this note I shall endeavor to show that Joseph was a priest.

Büchler (*Die Tobiaden und Die Oniaden*," p. 80) already suggested that Menelaus was a son of Joseph. He is quite right in his assumption, but we would add that Menelaus was a priest also. Scholars maintain (Schürer, 1, p. 195) that Menelaus was not of the priestly family since he was a brother to Simon and, according to the second Book of Maccabees, was of the tribe of Benjamin. We, however, pointed out above that the word *φύλη* does not necessarily mean tribe. It may mean "family." Moreover, from the Tosefta Taanit we learn that there was a priestly family Benjamin. The scholars who are of the opinion that Menelaus was not a priest try to deduce this from the first Book of Maccabees VII, 14 where the story is related that, when Alchimus was appointed High Priest by the King, the Hassidim sought peace with him and said: "Alchimus is a priest of the seed of Aaron." They hold that, since the author of this passage stresses that Alchimus was a priest, it implies that Menelaus was not a priest. Tscherikower, I believe, is quite right when he says on page 197, Note 3, that this statement is really in opposition to the Syrians, but not to Menelaus whose name is not even mentioned in the first Book of Maccabees. To this we must add that Josephus in Antiquities 20, says that Menelaus, although he was a priest, was not of the family of Onias. That is to say, the Hassidim were ready to welcome Alchimus since he was not of the Tobias family which was responsible for the defilement of the Temple.

Menelaus and Onias, the High Priest, according to Josephus Antiquities XII, 5, I, were brothers. The passage reads as follows:

"But this Jesus who was a brother of Onias, was deprived of the High Priesthood by the King who was angry with him, and who gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came as we have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason, but Onias was called Menelaus "

This passage as recorded by Josephus has been pointed out by many scholars as being spurious. Moreover, we know from the second Book of Maccabees that Menelaus was not a son of the High Priest Simon II nor a brother to the High Priest Onias III. Furthermore it would be too improbable to believe that Simon had two sons by the name of Onias.

This statement that the High Priest Onias, Jason, Onias-Menelaus, were brothers is reported again in Book XIII; where Josephus says that, when Onias IV, son of Onias III, saw that his uncle Onias-Menelaus was killed and the priesthood given to Alchimus, he went to Egypt. In Book XV, Josephus likewise says that Antiochus IV took away the priesthood from Jason and gave it to his brother Onias-Menelaus. From these passages we may conclude that Josephus adheres to his story that Onias III, Jason, Onias-Menelaus, were brothers; a story which, of course, contradicts the second book of Maccabees.

The real relationship between Onias, Jason, and Onias-Menelaus can be established from Book XX. In Book XX, 10, 1, Josephus records that when Antiochus V, killed Menelaus and gave the priesthood to Alchimus, the son of Onias III, who was an ἐξάδελφος of Onias-Menelaus, fled to Egypt. This word ἐξάδελφος is usually translated as nephew. It is used by Josephus only once in this connection. In the Book of Tobit ἐξάδελφος is found twice. The Vulgate translated ἐξάδελφος as *consobrinus*—cousin. From internal evidence of the Book of Tobit we may safely assume that the word ἐξάδελφος does not mean nephew, but a relation. The Latin translation of Josephus likewise translates the word ἐξάδελφος by *patruelis*, which has also the meaning of cousin—relation. Thus we can say from Book XX that Onias-Menelaus was related to the High Priest Onias III. If we bear in mind that Joseph was the grandson of the High Priest Simon I and that Simon II similarly was the grandson of Simon I, we understand that the children of Onias III, the son of Simon II, and the children of Joseph, Onias-Menelaus were related.

The confusion that results from the seemingly contradictory facts of Josephus arises, I believe, because of the peculiar method

that Josephus used in his writing. Josephus was not a scientific historian in the sense in which we use it. In consequence, for one account he often uses one source, while for another account he uses a different source, without seeming awareness that these sources might contradict each other. For his Book XX, Josephus used a different source from the one he utilized for his Book XII and XIII. Therefore, when he said that Onias-Menelaus was a cousin to Onias III, we can see that he does not depend on the same source which he used in Book XII.

Another instance where we can see that Josephus used a different source for Book XX may be found in relation to the High Priesthood and Judas Maccabeus. In Book XII Josephus says that Judas Maccabeus held the position of High Priest for four years; but, in Book XX, where he gives the list of the High Priests he does not include Judas among them. He makes out Jonathan to be the first High Priest of the Hasmonean family. Thus, there is no question in my mind that Josephus used different sources for his *magnum opus* "Antiquities." Thus we can explain that his statements vary and even contradict each other, as his sources varied and contradicted each other. From this point of view, the theory that Josephus used "ghost writers" cannot be held.

It is not surprising that we find the same names given to the children of Simon and the children of Joseph. They had a common ancestry. As Simon had a son Onias, so did Joseph, though the latter went by the Greek name Menelaus, while the brother of Menelaus was Simon, so named after his great-grandfather, Simon. His step-brother who went by the Greek name Hyrcanus was most likely called Tobias in Hebrew, after his grandfather. (Comp. Clermont-Ganneau, see note 65.) Because they had common names Josephus confused them, and thought they were brothers.

There is even a possibility that the Greek source which was used by Josephus for Antiquities XII—where he says that Jason and Onias-Menelaus were brothers ἀδελφός already had a scribal error. The manuscript in reality had ἐξἀδελφός and a scribe, instead of writing ἐξἀδελφός wrote the word ἀδελφός.

Therefore, Josephus using a manuscript in which this scribal error occurred, said they were brothers.

That Onias-Menelaus was High Priest may be deduced from the second Book of Maccabees. The author of this book would not fail to mention the fact that Menelaus, who had been appointed to the High Priesthood by Antiochus IV, was not a priest. We can be sure of this because we know that he pictures Menelaus and the Hellenistic party in very dark colors; he does not refrain from hurling any accusations against them; and attributes the grievous calamity which befell the Jews and the Jewish religion to them. Moreover, we know that in the case of Jason who was the brother of the High Priest Oinas III, when he was appointed High Priest by King Antiochus, the author of the second Book of Maccabees does not hesitate to revile Jason in these words: "thanks to the surpassing impiety of that godless Jason—no High Priest he!" Similarly, he would not have spared Menelaus, if Menelaus had not been a scion of the priestly family.

APPENDIX D

THE LETTERS OF LYSIAS AND ANTIOCHUS TO THE JEWS

Many scholars have questioned the genuineness of the letters of Lysias and Antiochus to the Jews as found in II Macc. XI, 17–33, due to seeming chronological contradictions. Some were of the opinion that there was only one expedition by Lysias against Judas, while others were of the opinion that the purification of the Temple took place in Kislev (December) 164. (See Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* II, p. 210–211; W. Kolbe, *Beiträge zur Syrischen und Jüdischen Geschichte*, p. 926; Laqueur, *Kritische Untersuchungen zum II Makkabäerbuch*; Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, *Hermes* 1900; Idem. *Gesch. der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten* III; E. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Appendix J; Unger, *Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerbücher*, Chap. V; Bickermann, Pauly-Wissowa, XIV, article—Makkabäerbücher).

It seems, however, that the entire difficulty which the scholars have found in the letters is due to their conception that there is a

chronological contradiction between I Macc. and II Macc., but as we have endeavored to show there is no chronological contradiction between these two (*Megillat Taanit*, Chap. 2, 3, 4). The author of Book I counts the Seleucid era from the fall of 312 as the year Two, while the author of II Macc. counts the Seleucid era from the fall of the year 312 as year One. Therefore what would be in book I, 149, would correspond to 148 in Macc. II. As to the date of the death of Antiochus IV, Niese (*Geschichte* 218, Note 7) quite rightly pointed out that he died at the beginning of the winter of 165-4, which corresponds to 149 A. S., as given in I Macc. and to 148 A. S. II Macc. (According to Josephus, Ant. XII, Antiochus IV died in 149 A. S. Josephus in this particular instance used as his source I Macc. since he does not append the Olymp. date).

As to Lysias' expedition, we may conclude from both books of Macc. that there were two expeditions. Before Antiochus left for Persia in the year 147 A. S. in the summer of 166 B.C.E., he commanded Lysias to quell the insurrection in Judea. Lysias, however, did not go in person to fight Judas, but sent two generals, evidently in the same year 166 B.C.E. (I Macc. III, 37), who were defeated by Judas. In the following year, 148 A. S., in the summer of 165, Lysias himself marched to the south of Judea (I Macc. IV, 28). According to II Macc. (XI and XIII) the two expeditions of Lysias took place after the cleansing of the Temple. I believe that it is obvious that the expedition of Lysias could not have been delayed until after the death of Antioch IV, and after the purification of the Temple, after the succession of Antiochus V. It is certainly inconceivable that Lysias would delay his expedition for an interval of two years, and meanwhile give the insurgents the opportunity to unite their forces. Furthermore, if the first expedition belonged to Antiochus V, it would be strange that the name of Antiochus V, should not be mentioned in this expedition, as he does figure in the second campaign. The reference to Lysias as being in sole control of this expedition can be only explained when it took place in the reign of Antiochus IV, while the latter was in Persia. From this we may safely conclude that the expedition of Lysias took place

in the summer of 148 A. S. (165). During this campaign of Lysias he received word from Persia that Antiochus died (in the early part of the winter of 165, 149 A. S.), and Philip was named Regent. Lysias thought it was more advisable for him to make peace with Judas and to return to Antioch.

Lysias wrote a letter to the Jews telling them that he had received the Jewish plenipotentiaries, John and Absalom, and told them that the petition had been laid before the king and he agreed to all that could be granted. This letter was signed in the year 148 A. S. and on the 24th of the month Dioscurus. the month Dioscurus is not known to us. It most probably refers to the month Dios and corresponds to November (The Pshitta has in place of Dioscurus the 2nd Tishri). Then follows the letter of King Antiochus V to Lysias in which he says "Now that our father had passed over to the gods, it is our pleasure that the subjects of the realm should live undisturbed . . . as for our Jewish subjects . . . it is our will therefore that this nation also shall not be disturbed and we have decided to give them back their Temple and to permit them to live after the manner of their ancestors." This letter is a rescript from Antiochus V (the government) to Lysias, granting religious liberty to the Jewish people. It has no date but the date is most likely the same as the first. Then Judas entered Jerusalem in the month Apellaeus December (which follows Dios) in the year 165, and purified the Temple.

These two communications were not addressed to Judas, but to the Jewish people, as Lysias did not recognize him as the representative of the Jews. The third letter king Antiochus V addresses to the *gerusia* in which he says: "Menelaus has informed us of your desire to return home . . . Those Jews then who return home up to the 30th day of Xanthicus shall have our friendship with full permission to use their own food and to observe their own laws." This letter is dated the fifteenth day of Xanthicus, 148, i. e. April 164 B.C.E. In it King Antiochus V gives the insurgents the right to return home, which was done upon the request of Menelaus, who was still the representative of the Jews.

APPENDIX E

דמאי δῆμοι

Professor Montgomery, in his note "The Etymology of דמאי" published in the October number of the *J.Q.R.* 1932, takes exception to my definition of the word דמאי as a Greek word δῆμος which means common people—Am haarez. He proceeds to say "Now in the first place δῆμος (the plural would not have been used as the base) should give דימוס." Again he says "The semantic development of δῆμος into 'doubt' would be, to say the least, most unlikely." He believes "the origin of the technical meaning of דמאי can be explained as a genuine Semitic development. The root is דמא 'be like,' which has developed into the meaning of the 'doubtful'."

I did not say (*J.Q.R.* 1932) that the word דמאי is derived from the word δῆμος. What I maintained was: the word דמאי is the Greek word δῆμοι, as the word פרוסבל is the Greek word πρὸς-βουλῇ. To support my contention, I have shown on p. 60 that the word דמאי is on a par with Am haarez. Furthermore, the word דמאי in the tannaitic literature occurs only in reference to the fruit belonging to the Am haarez—farmer. This, I believe, confirms my theory, as to the etymology of the word

Professor Montgomery's definition of the word דמאי as meaning "doubtful" is not borne out by the texts of the tannaitic literature. The word דמאי in the general sense of "doubt" never occurs in the entire tannaitic literature. The word ספק is used. If we should assume that the word דמאי is derived from the root דמא "be like," which later developed into the meaning of "doubtful," we fail to understand why the word דמאי does not appear in the entire tannaitic literature in the sense of "doubt" as a synonym of ספק. The word דמאי is used only in the sense of *doubt* when referring to the produce of the farmer. This derivation can readily be explained. The rabbis were in doubt as to whether the Am haarez—the farmer—gave his Tithe. Therefore, John Hyrcanus decreed upon the demoi גזר על הדמאי; namely that all who purchased from the Am haarez must set aside the Tithe, for perhaps it may not have been given before. Because of this

"doubt" the word דמאי then received the connotation of doubt in the Talmud, in reference to the produce of the farmer.

Likewise, the contention that the word דמאי is the aramaic form of the word דמע a mixture, is untenable. As the word דמאי is used in the sense of doubtful when referring to the produce of the Am haarez in opposition to the word ודאי certainty; while the word דמע is never used in the sense of doubt. Comp. also Ket. 56b, ודאי דבריהם עבדו רבנן חזוק ספק דבריהם לא עבדו רבנן, דמאי הקלו. See also ערוך the word דמאי.

In my article I pointed out that the Baraita Shab, p. 32 הלכות הארץ הקדש תרומות ומעשרות הן הן גופי תורה ונמסרו לעמי הארץ proves that the word Am haarez in the early tannaitic literature has the meaning of a farmer. The text in the Talmud. Jer., Shab. p. 5b has a different reading of this Baraita. הלכות הקדש חטאות והכשירות הן הן גופי הלכות... ונמסרו לע"ה. To my mind it is unquestionable that the reading of the Tal. Jer. was altered by later authorities and this is evidenced by the text of the Tal. Jer.

Obviously the compilers of the Pal. Tal. thought that the word Am haarez has the meaning of ignorant. The Baraita says that תרומות ומעשרות were entrusted to the Am haarez. The compilers who were well aware, from many passages of the Talmud, that the Am haarez were not entrusted with מעשרות and knowing that the Am haarez were only entrusted with הכשירות, חטאות, הקדש (comp. Hag. III, 6, Oh. V, 5 Mach. VI, 3) therefore changed the text from תרומות ומעשרות to הכשירות, חטאות, הקדש. The word נמסרו however has not the meaning of "entrusted" but "transmitted," and the word *Am haarez* means *farmer*. The meaning of this Baraita is quite clear. The laws of תרומות ומעשרות which are agrarian are transmitted to the *Am haarez*, the *farmer*.

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